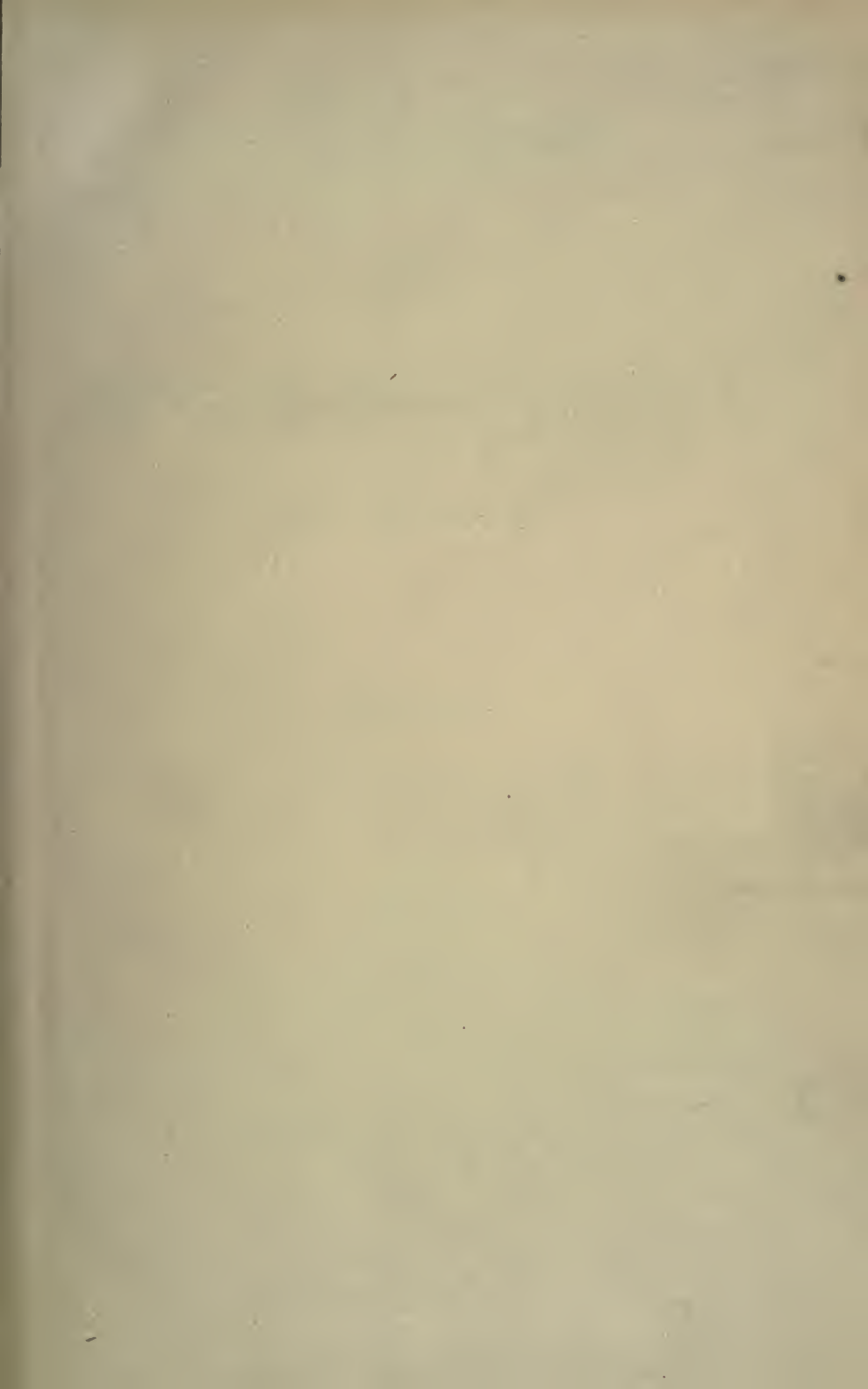


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PUBLICATIONS
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VOL. IV.

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No. I.

*ADDRESS OF WELCOME.**

BY EX-GOVERNOR JACOB D. COX, A. M., LL. D.,
PRESIDENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI, OHIO.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY: The very pleasant task has been assigned me of welcoming you to Cincinnati. What I say shall have the merit of brevity, for I know the importance and interest of the paper to which you are yet to listen. We are heartily glad to see you here because we have felt that the session of the Association would be education to us and to the community. We can do but little to rival the hospitality of the eastern cities in which you have usually held your meetings, but we hope that from your educational standpoint it will not prove unwise to have accepted an invitation west of the Allegheny mountains. Our interest in your work will be stimulated and the public appreciation of its value will be strengthened by thus bringing it and its ripening fruits to the attention of the people in the newer as well as the older parts of the country. For your work's sake, then, if not for your own, we hope that your visit may seem profitable.

The history of your Association is an important part of the history of American progress in adequate and scientific instruction in the modern languages. It is not long since modern language teaching may be said to have been without method, even

* Delivered before the Sixth Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION held at Cincinnati, Ohio, December, 1888.

east of the mountains. All of us who are of middle age can remember when it was a sufficient equipment for a teacher of a modern language to speak it as a native tongue, with little or no inquiry whether the teacher had a liberal education or any philological training. What PROFESSOR HART has said of its being a comparatively short time since two distinguished men represented all there was doing in the country in the department of modern philology, is not only true, but it is true within the memory of many who are present to-night. Looking back to my own college days, I remember that what little French and German we got was picked up outside of the college curriculum, as extra studies from private teachers. The idea of requiring a knowledge of modern languages, other than the vernacular, for admission to college had not then been dreamed of.

The work, then, is one of which you yourselves have seen nearly the whole progress. You who are teaching east of the mountains have seen more than we; some of you, in fact, have not only been part of it, but *magna pars*. We on the western slope have been quite willing to follow, as we could, the good example set, and such is the tendency of the time to rapid progress, that we may perhaps claim fair success in keeping abreast of the older institutions of the east.

Everybody knows that there are different ways of learning a language. If merely to express one's personal wants and ordinary thoughts were all, it would seem to be a very simple affair. The raw, unlettered immigrant soon learns to use a new tongue with some facility. The little child learns to chatter volubly at its mother's knee. The shopkeeper of a foreign town puts up the sign 'English spoken here,' or the hotel waiter or courier may (as somebody said of a distinguished American journalist) "speak a leash of languages at once." But from this absorbing or memorizing of words and common idioms it is a long step to the scientific teaching of modern languages so as to make it a linguistic education and philological training, as accurate, as logical and as disciplinary as the teach-

ing of classic Latin and Greek. This is the change you have witnessed and participated in. Modern literatures are now opened to the student with a critical acumen, a breadth of culture and a philosophic strength which may rightly be called fascinating, and which are attracting many who have heretofore thought that the highest literary cultivation could only be found in the ancient tongues. I believe that whilst we could not afford to lose the old culture, we cannot afford to neglect the new.

Be assured then that there is little danger any intelligent community will not recognize your work as a vastly important one, and honor you as the special representatives and efficient workers in the progress which I have spoken of. The members of your Society who live in Ohio have wished that all in the west who are interested in education might have the opportunity of meeting you here, and of joining in the discussion of the topics of great interest which will be before you. We hope some may be here who could not conveniently go far east for the purpose, and that your influence will thus widen by reaching out from a new centre. Every city in the land would be proud to offer you its hospitality; but to come in contact with western teachers and western people, and to make a wider constituency for yourselves by letting these know more of your educational work and your aims, seemed a sufficient reason for urging you to appoint this meeting here. For these reasons, on behalf of our citizens generally, and for those engaged in educational work particularly, I am happy to bid you a most cordial welcome.

THE LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE OF WALES.*

By EDWARD D. MORRIS, D. D., LL. D.

PROFESSOR OF SYSTEMATIC THEOLOGY IN LANE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, CINCINNATI.

GENTLEMEN OF THE ASSOCIATION:—As vessels of various lines and nationalities dip their colors in graceful recognition when they pass each other on the high seas, so those who represent any single department of human knowledge may well accept every occasion for the manifestation of friendly courtesies toward such as are the acknowledged representatives of learning in other spheres, however remote or foreign in outward appearance. For, as it is one and the same ocean which washes the shores of islands and continents far distant from each other, and binds them into a physical unity otherwise unattainable, so this vaster ocean of human knowledge, with its cosmic commerce of thought and attainment, makes friends of all who traverse its magnificent ranges, whatever cargo they may carry, and whatever be the port toward which they are hastening.

If this duty of fraternal recognition rests especially on any single class, it must devolve primarily on those who in any degree represent what the Scholastics were wont to call the *Scientia scientiarum*. For Theology, in its natural, and still more in its revealed form, is the science in which all other sciences find their proper ground and center—the science which, as it deals with the most comprehensive and sublime truths with which the human mind can be interested, and as it aims to secure the loftiest possible results in human character, is therefore most tenderly sympathetic toward all genuine progress in every subordinate sphere, and most ready to welcome every truly scientific attainment, even in regions most remote, apparently, from those in which it labors. What new development is there in the broadening field of ethics, personal or social, of law and government and civil order, of statemanship or civilization in the largest sense of that term, which the intelligent theologian does not welcome, as well for the relations it sustains to his own department of learning, as for its beneficent effects on man and on human life! What fresh discovery is there, whether

* Address delivered before the Sixth Annual Convention of the MODERN LANGUAGE ASSOCIATION, held at Cincinnati, Ohio, December, 1888.

made with microscope or with telescope,—what new law or force in the material universe, or what sparkling fact dug from the mines of nature, in which he may not rejoice who sees a comprehending God alike in earth and sky, and who counts all the physical sciences as his elect helpers in the progressive unveiling of that supreme Deity in whom all human knowledges must finally be centered? And again, what further attainment can be made in the wide domain of language, whether it be in that imperial group of tongues through whose medium the Divine Word was first made manifest to men, or in those more primitive forms of speech through which thought found expression in the earlier ages of the world, or in those relatively modern languages and dialects to whose study this Association is devoted, with which an earnest theologian with a wide outlook into life, will not find himself in generous and practical sympathy? It is hardly out of place to say that the science of theology and the science of language are in some respects drawn together by special affiliations, since a sound and deep theology becomes possible only as cultivated and elaborated language furnishes it with clearer, completer modes of statement, and since, on the other side, the Bible is the Creator Book from whose quickening influence the larger and loftier part of modern literature has come into existence.

It is not impossible, Gentlemen of the Association, that we might find along some of these interesting lines of thought material enough to occupy our attention worthily in this opening session. But I am led away by an inherited love for a language familiar to me from childhood, by a pleasant recollection of studies pursued to some extent in earlier years, and by my sense of what may be more immediately serviceable to the Association, to speak as a special theme of *The Welsh Language and The Welsh Literature*, especially as these may present themselves for consideration, during the long period from the sixth to the fifteenth century.¹ Without claiming any

¹ The following books may be consulted on the general subject here discussed :

MYFYRIAN ARCHÆOLOGY OF WALES: A Compilation. 3 vols.

SKENE, W. F.: Four Ancient Books of Wales.

PUGHE, WM. OWAIN. Heroic Elegies of Llywarch Hên.

WILLIAMS, EDWARD, (Editor). The Iolo Manuscripts.

GUEST, LADY CHARLOTTE: The Mabinogion.

TURNER, SHARON: Vindication of the Genuineness of the Ancient British Poems.

STEPHENS, THOS.: Literature of the Cymry.

DAVIS, EDWARD REV.: Celtic Researches.

RHYS, PROFESSOR: Welsh Philology.

GIRALDUS Cambrensis, Itinerarium.

exhaustive or technical acquaintance with the old Cymraeg, or attempting any thorough account of its extensive and delightful literature, I shall be content if what may be said respecting them shall awaken in other minds even a tithe of the interest which the subject has aroused, both long ago and more recently, in my own.

The first glimpse of the Cymry, as we gather it from Grecian and Roman History and from Keltic tradition, reveals to our vision a tribe or a concourse of clans grouped around certain hereditary leaders or chieftains, making their way gradually from the great eastern cradle of the race, probably along the valley of the Danube and across ancient Gaul, pushing before them several Gaelic tribes which had anteceded them in their migration, and crowded on in turn by those tribes of Asiatic origin who afterwards found their abodes in central Europe; until at length they rested from their half nomadic and half warlike wandering, a part in Brittany, the larger part across the Channel in the southern and central portions of the British Isles. Here CÆSAR found them at the date of his invasion, and here after a long conflict, and after their many sanguinary and exhausting strifes with Pict and Scot and with one another, the Roman Empire succeeded in establishing its authority over them, though always in the face of determined revolt, and always through bloody sacrifice. Here also Christianity found them, and in the person of men like Augustine endeavored to lift them above their old Druidic religion, and educate them into the better faith of the Gospel. Of their general characteristics and manner of life, we learn something from TACITUS (Agricola) and CÆSAR, (Commentaries) from the somewhat questionable testimony of GILDAS, and from various other sources, all revealing a state of society in which the introductory seeds of a healthful civilization have planted themselves, but in which savage instincts and savage tastes, like mischievous weeds, still largely possess and taint the soil. Their language was a commanding form of that old Keltic speech, which

JONES, JOHN: History of Wales.

POWELL, THOS. M.: History of the Ancient Britons, (American.)

WILLIAMS, R., REV.: Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen.

ARCHÆOLOGIA CAMBRENSIS: A Journal.

CYMMRODORION: Transactions of, etc.

It may be added here, that the writer has felt at liberty to draw somewhat upon articles written by himself, and published in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1850 and 1853. The facts given in the address have, however, been verified by more recent investigations in this interesting field.

existed for many centuries in one type in the Gwyddelic or Irish, the Scottish Gaelic, and the dialect of the Isle of Man; and in another type in the Cymraeg, the Cornish and the Armorican dialect of Brittany,—all traceable backward through their close affinities on one side with the kindred dialects of Gaul, on the other side with both the Greek and the Latin tongues, to some common origin in the old East. SKENE in his Introduction to the 'Four Ancient Books of Wales' lays much stress on "the great distinctive dialectic differences" between these two types of the Keltic stock, affirming that these differences "lie deep in the very groundwork of the language, and must have existed before the entrance of these several tribes into Great Britain, if not indeed before their entrance into Europe." At the same time, he maintains that "there are also analogies so close, vital and fundamental, as to leave no doubt that these languages are all children of one common parent;" and in confirmation of this view, he quotes an eminent Welsh scholar of the present day as declaring that two thirds of the vocabulary of these six dialects are substantially the same.

The beginnings of intellectual life and culture among the ancient Britons are traceable directly to the remarkable institution of Druidism,—an institution established more or less fully from very early times among the various Keltic tribes both British and Continental, but which reached its finest consummation among the Cymry alone. The Druids or *Derwyddon* (probably from *derw.* an oak), were originally a religious or priestly order solely, analogous to the organized priesthood of ancient Egypt or of modern India, growing up during successive ages out of the needs and the stimulations of that strong and fruitful natural faith, which PROFESSOR RHYS has recently described in his volume on 'Celtic Heathendom.'² As this priestly order became more thoroughly organized, and therefore more widely influential, it naturally began to assume other functions than those of religion: it shared with chieftains and princes in the framing and even the administration of law: it became also a teaching order, gathering into its own hands all available knowledge, and imparting such knowledge pedagogically to the people. By degrees it became a poetic or bardic order also, and by the skill of its numbers in both poetry and

² *Hibbert Lectures*, 1886, on the Origin and Growth of Religion, as illustrated by Celtic Heathendom.

music commended itself more and more to the patronage of the nobles, and to the favor of the lower classes. At length, by this process we find three orders coming into existence from the druidic stock, closely related, yet growing more distinct in name and function: the priest, the philosopher, and the bard. Of the functions of the priesthood proper, we have suggestive illustrations in the still existing *cromlechau* or temples as at Stonehenge, in other relics remaining especially in the sacred isle of Mona, the modern Anglesey, in the religious triads some of which at least may claim druidic origin, and in the surviving traditions of their worship and their sacrifices, sometimes as cruel as they were impressive in their influence upon the common people. HUME has said that no form of idolatrous worship ever attained such ascendancy over mankind; and another English historian declares, though with something of prejudice in his tone, that no system of superstition was ever more fearful—none ever better calculated to impress ignorance with awful terror, or to extort implicit confidence from a deluded race. What the druidic philosophers held and taught, in the recesses of their schools, which none but the choicest youths were permitted to enter, whose instructions were never written but always verbal, and whose lessons no one might reveal to the uninitiated except at the hazard of barbaric penalties, we can only surmise from what we learn of their dominating influence for centuries over all classes, and especially over the ruling families of the nation. That the druidic bards sang welcome songs of love, hymns of praise to their patrons, odes of triumph in battle, elegies to the slain hero, and commemorative threnodies to the dead, we know as assuredly and by the same process as we know that there were poets in Greece before HOMER sang, though few if any of these poetic products have survived to our time.

What is important now is simply to note the influence and impact of such a body of men as the Druids, in these three varieties, came to be upon the mental life and experience of the Cymry during the long period which began before the Christian era, and continued down, with an increasing intensity, to the fifth and sixth centuries when Welsh literature may be said to have first embodied itself permanently in written language. That the Druids themselves had such a written language, there is little reason to question; but the mystic secrecy with which they enshrouded alike their knowledge and their instructions,

has always precluded any close estimate of their linguistic abilities and attainments. Their preparatory work was oral, and therefore evanescent so far as enduring form was concerned, though by no means evanescent in the impression it made upon the popular life during that formative era. Had it not been for the druidic order, and especially for the school of philosophy and the school of poetry established by it, we might have searched in vain through many succeeding centuries for any literature worthy of the name.

With this brief reference to what Druidism was and what Druidism did for the primitive Cymry, we may now descend to the sixth century, and to the historic triad of Welsh poets whose productions have been preserved to our time: TALIESIN, ANEURIN and LLYWARCH HEN, or Llywarch the Aged. The question respecting the authenticity of these poems has been settled substantially in their favor; first by SHARON TURNER, and more recently by SKENE and other reliable authorities in Keltic lore. It is altogether probable, however, as SKENE admits, that poems by unknown or obscure authors during the two or three centuries following and perhaps later, have found their way surreptitiously into the large list of poetical productions which bear the name of TALIESIN. There are four manuscript volumes, in which the writings of these earlier bards have been preserved; the *Llyfr Du* or Black Book of Caermarthen, compiled during the twelfth century, in the reign of Henry II; the Book of Aneurin, traceable to the latter part of the thirteenth; the Book of Taliesin, transcribed early in the fourteenth; and the *Llyfr Goch* or Red Book of Hergest, compiled at different times during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and now in the library of Jesus College. We have a complete collection of these poems in the original, and also a valuable translation, preceded by an important discussion of the problem of authenticity, and of other matters of interest in this connection, in the 'Four Ancient Books of Wales.'

The longest poem in this collection, containing 920 lines of various meters, and the only one unquestionably attributable to ANEURIN, is the "Gododin," which describes the bloody battle of Cattraeth, fought in A. D. 540 between the Cymry and the Saxons, and resulting in the complete overthrow of the Cymric forces and the slaughter of nearly all their leaders. ANEURIN was himself a warrior in the battle, and after witnessing the destruction of the army took refuge in the college or

convent of Cattwg in South Wales, where he composed his graphic and touching elegy. In the progress of the ode, the several British chieftains are introduced and characterized, the incidents of the battle are given, the fall of one hero after another is described with melting pathos, and the whole scene from the first onset to the final overthrow is pictured with remarkable animation, and with a degree of terse strength and linguistic skill which fully justifies the assignment of the poem to a foremost place among the productions of that primitive age. The writer of the article on "Celtic Literature" in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, says that in the brevity of the narrative, the careless boldness of the actors as they present themselves, the condensed energy of the action, and the fierce exultation of the slaughter, together with the recurring elegiac note, this production exhibits some of the highest epic qualities.

The poems of the princely bard, LLYWARCH HËN, of which twelve are extant, consist in part of heroic elegies and in part of personal thoughts and experiences, especially in view of advancing age. They are simple in structure and meter, and their range is relatively limited, yet they are remarkable for strength of expression, for picturesque imagery, and for genuine poetic grace and fervor. STEPHENS says of this bard that, though a warrior and treating of warriors, his forte does not lie in heroic poetry; his descriptions of manners are happy, and the incidental allusions are strikingly descriptive of the age; but his chief power lies in pathetic lamentation, and his elegies contain many fine sentiments. But neither ANEURIN nor LLYWARCH is equal to TALIESIN, either in the number of productions still extant, or in the range and power of their poetic genius. Eliminating from the long list of poems ascribed to him both those which betray in themselves a later origin and some which possibly were composed by earlier bards whose names have not certainly come down to us, we have still a large and interesting series of productions unquestionably his own,—some of them descriptive of the sanguinary conflicts of the period and commemorative of chieftains who fell in them,—others celebrating the name and praises of URIEN REGED, his princely patron,—others referring to the personal history and experiences of the poet, and to more general themes. The translations given by SKENE, and especially those which treat of war and battle, justify the statements of a high authority respecting TALIESIN, that his poems show more skill in composi-

tion, finer ideas, bolder images, and more intense passion than those of any other poet of the age.

The description, perhaps more stilted and fervid than calmly accurate, which TAINE in one of the opening chapters in his 'History of English Literature' has given us of the earliest Saxon poetry, may quite as justly be applied to these primitive productions of the Cymric muse. Setting aside all that has been on insufficient grounds ascribed to these ancient authors,—dropping out also the poems attributed to MYRDDIN and other bards whose chronology is doubtful, we still find remaining a body of literature which at once awakens attention and commands our interest. It is true that these poems were written in an uncultured age, and among a people but slightly civilized according to our modern standard. It is true that the themes with which they are occupied are comparatively few in number and meager in importance,—that the language and the style are relatively crude,—that the impressions produced within the reader are less deep and powerful than those wrought in our breasts by the commanding genius of such great poets of mankind as HOMER or VIRGIL, DANTE or MILTON or GOETHE. And yet who can contemplate these Cymric productions, originating centuries before the beginnings of what we may properly term English literature, treasured up through the intervening generations, and descending in their archaic simplicity down to our own time, without being deeply interested both in what they are and in what they suggest?

It is to the centuries immediately following this primal era of poetic development that the 'Mabinogion,' a curious collection of prose tales and romances, some of very early and some of later origin; and also the first three extant histories of the Cymry, are generally referred,—those of GILDAS, of NENNIUS, and of TYSILIO. The 'Brut' or Chronicle of Tysilio, though its antiquity has been strenuously challenged, is printed in the Myfyrian Archæology as a reliable production of that early age. A copy of the 'Historia Brittonum' by NENNIUS is in the Vatican Library, with an important appendix, bringing the narrative down to the tenth century. An interesting reference by this author to certain *antiquis libris nostrorum veterum* seems to indicate that these two or three histories were not the first historical records of the Cymric people, but rather were based upon older works which have not been preserved. In any event, the writing of such history becomes a witness almost as valu-

able as the poetry just considered, to the grade of intellectual life which the nation had at this early day attained.

Wending our way through the tangled tradition of these centuries, we come at length at the opening of the tenth century to the illustrious era of HYWEL DDA, who during his reign of five and thirty years established among the discordant British chieftains a degree of unity never before attained, and made the nation for the time secure against foreign assault. HYWEL has been styled the Welsh JUSTINIAN; and the code of laws which he caused to be compiled from the traditional code of Dyfnwal Moelmud and other ancient sources, stands out in Cymric history as a monument to his wisdom, and at the same time an enduring testimony to the state of culture and morals in the nation itself. The story of the formation of this legal code, of the share of princes and wise men in its elaboration, of the voluntary acceptance of it by the people, of its being borne by HYWEL himself to Rome, there to receive the papal approbation and endorsement, is hardly less striking than the story of the English Magna Charta: and the fact that this code remained as the fixed law of the realm down to the period when the Welsh surrendered their independence to Edward I. of England, is abundant proof of its extraordinary value. No one can read it, in its various branches, without being led to see in it as in a mirror a remarkable illustration, not merely of the moral temper of the Cymry nine centuries ago, but also of the high degree of development which their language had then attained as an expression and index of their intellectual life.³

But our chief concern with this Hywelian code relates to the unique provisions made in it for the protection and support of the bardic order. In it the bards were divided into three classes, according to their skill and understanding: the *Eisteddfod*, or concourse of bards for the purpose of poetic competition, was established by law: the *Pencerdd*, or Chief of Song, attained his office by regal appointment, and his salary and privileges and immunities were carefully prescribed. He received at his installation a harp which he was never to part with, and at every public festival it was his duty to sing in poetic strains in honor of his lord. Other duties, such as the preservation of royal and princely genealogies, the imparting of

³ A splendid copy of the 'Laws of Hywel Dda' with an English translation has been published during this century by the British Government,—edited by an accomplished Welsh scholar, ANEURIN OWEN.

instruction to noble youths, and assistance in the management of civil affairs, were also assigned him. In general, the poet laureate of England with his special place and remunerations is but a feeble representative of the *Pencerdd* in the good old days of HYWEL DDA.

Under such nurture, poetry became from the tenth century onward a national art and a national passion. We see indeed after the death of HYWEL the return of internal rivalries and distractions, the struggles of various aspirants after the supreme authority, the successive invasions of the national domain by Scot and Gwyddel, by Saxon and Norman, and other similar causes tending to repress the national culture not merely in this but in every form. Still there survived, as the interesting *Itinerarium* of GIRALDUS CAMBRENSIS shows us, much of the old poetic and literary spirit. In the earlier half of the twelfth century we discover what WILLIAMS in his 'Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Welshmen' styles a great reformation under GRUFFYDD AB CYNAN, one of the most celebrated princes of North Wales,—a reformation or reconstruction, during which Welsh literature reached a high degree of perfection, and a brilliant succession of poets appeared extending down to the close of the national independence in the century following. The poetical productions of this period are too numerous to receive more than a passing notice in this cursory sketch. There are still extant three poems by MEILIR, one of them a remarkable ode, full of elevated religious sentiment and written in his old age on the "Marw Ysgafn," the placid dying of the bard: twelve by GWALCHMAI, of which the most noted are the ode to OWAIN GWYNEDD, prince of North Wales, and a hymn to nature, so skillful in diction, so flowing in its melody, and so lofty in thought and aspiration, that it has not improperly been compared with what WORDSWORTH has written on the same theme: a larger number by CYNDELW, who was fitly called *Prydydd Mawr*, the great poet, and whose fame surpasses that of any contemporary both for mastery of the language and for rhythmic grace and power: five by EINION, the son of GWALCHMAI, and an inheritor of the rare genius of his father: eight by HYWEL AB OWAIN GWYNEDD, prince as well as poet, who sang of war and love with a peculiar grace and charm alike of fancy and of rhythmic expression: and finally two by OWAIN CYFEILIOG, a Welsh prince celebrated alike in war and literature, a patron of bards and himself a bard of great promi-

nence and excellence. One of the two odes of CYFEILIOG is entitled the "Hîrlâs," and is in substance a princely song of welcome to the chieftains who have shared with him in a recent victory. The *Hîrlâs* was a drinking-horn, long and blue, rimmed with silver, and capable of containing a large libation: and the poet imagines his noble guests gathered around him at the table in his own palace,⁴ and bids his cup-bearer fill the horn, and carry it round from warrior to warrior, while he sings the praises of each, their valor, their loyalty, their successes and triumphs, in strains of peculiarly graceful melody. Those who have fallen in battle are also celebrated in appropriate verse; and the horn goes round and round, until all have tasted the flowing mead, and have received the royal commendation, when the poem concludes with the words:

"Now, my boy, thy task is o'er:
Thou shalt fill the horn no more.
Long may the King of kings protect
And crown with bliss my friends elect;
Where liberty and truth reside,
And virtue, truth's immortal bride,
There may we altogether meet,
And former times renew in converse sweet!"

Two things may properly attract our attention before we leave this interesting period: the large infusion of Christian thought and feeling, and the special prominence given to music, in conjunction with these poetic productions. MR. GLADSTONE in his address at the national *Eisteddfod* held at Wrexham this autumn spoke with enthusiasm of the Welsh as a deeply religious people—a religious people from the time when they harbored the old Christian religion in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries, while it was driven out of the great bulk of English counties. The tribute is justly paid, and he who reads the 'Marw Ysgafn' of MEILIR or the religious poems of CYNDELW, or even the "Hîrlâs" of CYFEILIOG, will not fail to see that at that period at least if not before, Christianity had wrought itself permanently and inextricably into the conviction and life of the people.

The harp also had by this time taken the place of honor

⁴ One who has journeyed along the Welsh coast from Conway round through Bangor and Caernarvon, by Harlech to Aberystwyth and beyond, and has seen the old castle ruins perched like eagles on many a high hill or craggy summit overlooking the sea, much like those that make the Rhine so beautiful as well as historic a river, cannot fail to have had some new impressions as to the manner in which these old Welsh princes and chieftains lived and flourished in their strong abodes seven centuries ago.

which it has ever since held as the elect instrument of music among the Welsh. Is there not a suggestive key to some of the special qualities in any race or nation, to be discovered in what we find to be their favorite instruments of music? The barbaric monotone of the drum, the thin whistle of the fife, the blatant outcry of the bugle, the wheezy droning of the bagpipe,—are they not all indicative of elements and tendencies inherent constitutionally in the people who adopt and cherish them severally as their chosen mode of instrumental melody? The Hebrew and the Welsh have found their musical ear best satisfied with the harp; and of the two nationalities the latter has been by far the most constant and enthusiastic in its devotion. To praise the harp, to sing of its graceful form and tender melodies, to extol it above all other instruments of music, has ever been a grateful task to the Cymric music. One of the poets speaks of it as having:

“Iaith enaid ar ei thannau :”
(The language of the soul on its strings.)

and another declares with enthusiasm that there are

“Mil o leisiau melynion.
Mêl o hyd ym mhola hon.”
(A thousand sweet voices, all of them honey,
Incarnate in this.)

and a third, remembering perchance that the harp is the only instrument that finds mention in the apocalyptic descriptions of heaven, sings of it,

“Odlau saint yw adlais hon,
Llais yn fawl llys nefolion.”
(Its notes are as the odes of the sanctified;
It is a voice in the praise of the court of the heavenly ones.)

From the twelfth century onward, we find the harp enthroned in the Welsh heart, and sounding its mellow strains in the public *Eisteddfod*, in the halls and feasts of the nobles, and even among the common people, as the elect instrument of the nation. The *Eisteddfod* also, or general congress or convention of bards and literary men, which had been instituted as early as the eighth or tenth century, became after the twelfth one of the established institutions of the land. Full provision was made for it by law; gifts and prizes were furnished by the reigning princes; its annual convocations were attended by enthusiastic thousands, and its honors were sought with as much eagerness as ever animated warriors on the field of battle. Of the bards of the period extending from the twelfth to the close

of the fourteenth century, we have the names of more than sixty whose productions have been preserved, and of nearly as many more whose writings have wholly perished with the lapse of time. Many scores of manuscript volumes of Cymric poetry belonging to this period, are still in existence, though within the last two centuries, several important collections have been destroyed by accidental conflagrations; the Hëngwrt Collection alone is said to contain four hundred such volumes. And while the number of acknowledged bards steadily increased, the range of their themes increased also; war, especially after the fusion of Wales with England early in the century, ceased to be the main topic of song. With the reign of peace, and the civilizing changes that followed the better establishment of civil order, and especially with the more and more dominant influence of religion, Welsh poetry came to cover a much wider field, and to present itself to view in forms at once more varied and much more elaborate.

It would be a pleasant task to speak of some among the more conspicuous poets of this era, and especially of DAFYDD AB GWILYM, with his hundred songs to his beloved MORFUDD, his beautiful ode to the nightingale, his many hymns of nature and of devotion. GWYLYM has been styled the Cambrian PETRARCH, and a high authority has said that no modern poets sing more sweetly of the woodland, the wild flowers, the voice of birds, and the other charms of external nature. It would be pleasant also to carry your thought onward into the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, and to bring into view the rapidly increasing mass of Welsh literature, the still greater elaborateness and richness and power of the national poetry, the growth of theological and religious productions, illustrative of the wonderful change which Christianity had wrought in the heart and life of the people. It would be still more pleasant to speak even in outline of what has transpired in the intellectual life of the principality of Wales during the past three hundred years:—to tell the story of other poets even greater than those already named; of modern authors whose productions are worthy of a wider range than a principality so small could furnish; of the great preachers of Wales such as CHRISTMAS EVANS and JOHN ELIAS, whose power in the pulpit as exhibited in their terse and potent diction, their graphic imagery, their poetic and oratorical skill, their religious faith and fervor, has never been

surpassed in modern times;⁵ to describe particularly those peculiarities of Welsh poetry, its remarkable rhythm and grace, the sweetness of its melody, its varied and difficult measures, its singular alliteration (*cynghanedd*) or repetition of certain letters within the lines, as well as its facile rhyming both within and at the close of each succeeding measure,—all of which combine to give it a unique place in the poetry either of ancient or of modern times.

But at this point the stream widens and widens, so that one can hardly see from shore to shore. Craving your indulgence therefore, Gentlemen of the Association, I venture in closing this cursory address to make some brief plea for the closer study of the Welsh language and literature, and for the elevating of that literature and language to a far higher place than is generally accorded to it. PROFESSOR RHYS in his lectures on "*Celtic Heathendom*," quotes a distinguished German scholar as saying that the great attraction of Keltic philology consists in the fact that every haul of the net, without exception, brings in a rich spoil. And RHYS himself broadens the assertion so as to make it include Keltic archæology, myth, history and religion, as well as Keltic speech. It is to be remembered that this old Cymraeg has preserved its integrity and vitality through a long period and in defiance of most serious besetments, and is at this hour not only richer in its vocabulary, more cultivated in form, more available and effective in common use, but also more ardently loved, more enthusiastically spoken than ever before; in the highest sense a living language still, and destined even in the presence of English laws, English commerce, English culture, to be spoken and written within its mountain home, it may be for centuries to come. It is also to be remembered that in comparison with the fading speech of the Gwyddel and the Scot, or the other kindred dialects of the original Keltic tongue, or indeed with the other languages of northern Europe, the Welsh is still eminently a productive language, with a vigorous and rapidly developing literature, not in the department of poetry alone, but likewise in biography and history, in various branches of theology doctrinal and practical, and to some extent even in fiction and romance. Furthermore, the many close relations in sound, in form, in grammatical structure and in other aspects, which this Keltic tongue sustains to those more conspicuous languages that are indigenous in central and in eastern Europe,

⁵ 'Some of the Great Preachers of Wales,' by REV. OWEN JONES, M. A.

tend largely to increase the claim it presents to scholarly attention and study. Nor is this claim lessened but rather vastly increased if we take into the account also its remarkable affinities with those ancient languages,—the Hebrew, the Greek, the Latin—from which the other modern tongues of the European continent have derived so large a proportion of their vocabulary, their structure, and their value as media of cultivated thought. To a language so remarkable as this in both its nature and its relations, a language at once ancient and modern, an Association such as yours, Gentlemen, cannot turn a languid eye or an indifferent ear.

I.—*The Rhetorical Tendency in Undergraduate Courses.*

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In the undergraduate classes in modern languages, there is a certain line of work to be pursued by every teacher, whatever be the further details to which his taste, the direction of his own private studies, or his conception of the demands of his chair may lead him to give most emphasis. This line of work, briefly stated, consists in teaching such matters, lexical and grammatical, as are needed for the purpose of simple translation, from the English or into the English.

But every teacher, with the slightest tinge of enthusiasm, will do something more. He may prefer to give much time to the scientific study of the growth of the forms and syntax. This kind of work should be neglected by no one. Or his work may be chiefly rhetorical, using the word in a very wide and perhaps partly inaccurate sense, his course being conducted as an "Arts" course, according to the older conception of the scope and purpose of the courses in the classical tongues. Since I believe that this latter line of work is coming to be neglected, it has seemed to me worth while to put in a brief plea in its behalf, as something that should be the central point in our undergraduate instruction, and moreover formally emphasized in our post-graduate courses.

No one can doubt that the scientific study of the growth of the forms and syntax of the modern languages must, in the near future, be pursued, and should be pursued, with even more energy and enthusiasm than at present. There are not wanting indications that the comparative philology of the ancient and the extinct branches of Indo-germanic speech is soon to seek from the philology of the modern tongues the key to some of its numerous unsolved problems, and I, for one, look to modern Romance and Germanic philology for the antidote to much of the dogmatism of nearly all of the best recent work in the remoter field. It is only in the full records of the modern languages that are to be found ample illustration of all the varieties of phonetic processes, real and not hypothetical. Here and here alone is afforded a firm basis for reasoning upon the incep-

tion of dialects, and furthermore upon the very important questions relating to the tendency to variation on the part of the individual, and the manner in which he is influenced by the community in which he lives. Just as the chemistry and biology of the fossil is founded upon the processes observed in living organisms, so must the deductions of the philology of the modern tongues become the norm for the past.

I have felt it necessary to speak in this emphatic manner of the immense and growing importance of Romance and Germanic linguistics, lest any one should misunderstand the import of what I am about to say.

The proper function of the teacher of the undergraduate is of a different, and in some respects, of a higher-order. To use the terminology of college faculties, he should be, preëminently, a teacher in the "Department of Arts." He should have to do with the thought embodied in the texts read by his class, and with the literary form, national and individual, in which this thought finds expression. He is a member of the guild of literature, and it is only as such, and not as an imperfect imitator of the teachers of the exact sciences that he, or the teacher of any other tongue, dead as well as living, can attain to the true dignity of his post. Above all, the circumstances of the present time make it more than ever incumbent upon him to take this view of his function.

At no time in modern history has purely literary culture fallen so low as at present. The devotion paid to the physical sciences and, quite recently, to sociology, seem to have absorbed well-nigh all the energy of this decade. Apart from writers of fiction, how short the list of English, French and German authors read for their form! And, even in fiction, English writers, during the last three or four years, have come to subordinate everything to the interest of the plot; a condition of things of which the detective novel is the natural outcome.

The friends of Greek and Latin regard these branches of study as the main stronghold of culture. May it be long before Greek is dropped from our rosters, and yet it may be seriously questioned whether the teachers of Greek and Latin are not evacuating their post.—Archæology, studied not as a branch of æsthetics, but as a historical science only; comparative philology of a kind that knows nothing but phonetics and rarely takes into account the meaning of a form, and, I may add, is in this unfaithful even to history; historical disquisitions talking

of the growth of institutions and then absolutely silent as to their social value (all in themselves, and, as far as they go, signs, to be sure, of a healthful activity) seem to be usurping the entire attention of most scholars. Where, in all the vast mass of recent philological literature are we to look for any trace of the general study of HOMER as the divine poet? Greek and Latin have been infected by the exclusive impulse to weigh, measure and count. This work must indeed be done; the archaic Aphrodite must be studied by every one who would rightly understand the work of the best period, but all this study of origins, in whatever field we find it, is work of a partly ephemeral and in one sense of a lower order and should be regarded merely as the road to something else. We could make scholars in this way who should remain essentially barbarians.

I repeat it, philology, in neither the ancient nor the modern field, has anything to gain in contending with the methods of physics and biology, if we are to stop short with them. In physical and biological science it is possible, in the first place, to reason with a great degree of precision, and then every advance opens up a wider and more inspiring landscape. We can hardly say so much for the science of language; it is not an exact science, and its deductions run out into an infinity of petty detail. Any one who has had the opportunity of conducting classes capable of comparing mere linguistics with physics, or biology, knows well that, when the two are thus directly brought into contract, it is but little to the advantage of the former. What should we say of the teacher of psychology who should confine his work to the anatomical tissues of the brain and nerves? No! to stop here is to relinquish our distinctive claims to respectful attention. Language is an art; it is not merely the product of certain historical factors, it is an art, and the study of its application as an art is worthy of our best energies as educators of undergraduates.

Let me reiterate that nothing can be farther from my mind than to depreciate a kind of work in which my position as teacher of comparative philology requires me to spend my life and yet, if I must choose between the two extremes, I prefer the rhetoricians of the first quarter of this century to the living scholar who cares for nothing but rotation, palatalization and vowel absorption, and never stops to ask what are the special artistic uses to which the language, as shaped by these processes,

is applicable. We must unite the two; one to preponderate in our postgraduate schools and the other in our undergraduate courses. But in neither department are we to forget that the study of the stem is to lead to the better understanding of the flower and the fruit.

Now, if we contrast the position of the teacher of Greek and Latin with that of the teacher of the modern tongues, we shall easily find some reasons why the latter should feel himself more particularly drawn towards this treatment of his material, and why he may hope for even a greater measure of success. I shall be brief, for I believe that I am telling a twice-told tale. In the first place, for a rapidly increasing number of students, the instructions in the modern languages is the only source of culture in the academical course. There is in physical and biological science room enough to develop all the mental powers, those of the imagination as well as the logical powers, and yet the perhaps unavoidable professional tendency of the scientific departments of our colleges and universities is to convert men into mere wheels in the social machine, useful and active wheels, no doubt, but wheels nevertheless. In our recitation rooms, if anywhere, must be given the impulse that is to lead to the formation of a well-rounded man, one not only able to discharge his professional duties in a useful and lucrative manner, but also able to sympathize with all that vast field of thought and emotion subsumed in the old expression "the humanities."

Secondly, the work of the modern language teacher is far more certain of immediate success. Very few undergraduate students of THUCYDIDES can give a clear account of the æsthetic value of the Greek period; still fewer, if any, attain to any real understanding of the stylistic features of THUCYDIDES himself. To the undergraduate, LYSIAS, DEMOSTHENES and THUCYDIDES differ merely as hard, harder, hardest. Nor does the fault lie altogether with the instructor. But in French, or German, our advanced classes attain, or may attain, to some degree of perception of both the national and the personal characteristics of the author in their hands. They may be taught too feel them, to enjoy them, and, more than that, they may be taught to point out the precise source of their enjoyment to others. Few senior classes relish ARISTOPHANES or PLAUTUS; even a freshman class will enjoy a bright French comedy.

But the modern languages, though able to hold their own as means of "education," can do this only by the study of larger literary wholes, as distinguished from that study of the single

period, or group of periods, possible in one recitation of the single student. A Greek period, considered simply as affording material for mental drill, is incomparably richer than anything in French, German or English. No modern language possesses anything approaching its wonderful, even varying adaptation of form to local significance. A brief passage from THUCYDIDES, compared with one of equal length from GIBBON, is like a masterpiece in color compared with a sketch done in chalk. And yet, the modern manages, in the end, to say or at least to imply as much. Modern thought and modern books are in no whit inferior to ancient thought and ancient books. Our lyric is superior to the ancient. In history, the wide compass possible to the modern, has produced many books better worth the student's attention than THUCYDIDES. Our drama is in no wise inferior to the Greek, either in comedy or tragedy. But in all these departments, the literary value of the modern must often be sought in passages of a certain length rather than in the detached period.

You may give whatever name you will to the department of work whose claims I have been advancing. Perhaps it includes much more than properly appertains to the chair of rhetoric. Call it what you will, it will, I hope, find its proper place in our faculties of philology. No postgraduate student deserves a postgraduate degree who does not, in addition to showing a thorough knowledge of the historical development of a tongue, render a good account of the spirit of the documents involved and of their artistic or æsthetic value.

II.—*Dante's Paradiso: Cantos XXIV-XXVI.*

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The xxiyth, xxvth and xxvith books of the 'Paradiso' consist chiefly of what has always been something of a puzzle to me, the examination of DANTE by PETER, JAMES and JOHN, on Faith, Hope and Love. The allegory of the 'Divina Commedia,' clear enough in its main outlines, becomes matter for endless discussion as soon as we descend into details, but nowhere else, so far as I have observed, is there any difficulty in interpreting the general significance of so large a body of verse as these three books, if we take the literal sense, or in adapting it to some one theory, if we take the allegorical sense. The fact that I do not find any discussion of this puzzling examination in the DANTE literature accessible to me has made me somewhat fearful of committing an offense very common in the study of all masterpieces in all literatures; but I console myself by the reflection, that in the vast number of DANTE students who have found difficulties where none existed, I should feel myself in good company.

Let me briefly recall the situation which seems to me in need of explanation. DANTE has passed through the horrors of Hell, he has climbed the hill of Purgatory, he has seen the temporal and the eternal fires, he has walked in the earthly Paradise, he has drunk of Lethe and Eunoe, after having suffered the reproaches of BEATRICE and gazed upon the mystic procession of the Church. He has ascended into the heavens, passing from one heaven to another by the sweet power which comes from the eyes of BEATRICE, and has now reached the heaven of the fixed stars, where abide the Apostles and Saints of the Old and New Testaments. The Divine Rose, which had been on earth the hostelry of our desire, had followed into the Empyrean its own seed, and after it each white gleam had reached upward with its summit to reveal to the dazzled poet its deep affection for MARY. Thus stretching out towards the Mother of Christ, they sung in seraphic tones, "Regina Coeli."

Then BEATRICE, his faithful guide through the glories of heaven, beseeches the company elect to the great supper of the Lamb benedight, to bedew somewhat him to whom the Grace

of God has given a foretaste of what falls from their tables. The flames revolve in ecstasy, and from one of the blessed carols comes forth a happy fire of supreme brightness. Him, the light of ST. PETER, BEATRICE implores to examine DANTE on points light and grave concerning the faith by means of which he walked upon the seawater.

“If he love well, and hope well, and believe,
From thee 'tis hid not; for thou hast thy sight
There where depicted everything is seen.
But since this kingdom has made citizens
By means of the true faith, to glorify it
'Tis well he have the chance to speak thereof.”

Then PETER asks the poet what is faith, why PAUL defines it as the substance of things hoped for, whether he has it in his possession, whence he obtained it, what authorizes him to consider the Old and New Testaments as divine, what assured him that the miracles there recounted ever took place, and finally asks him to state what he believes. When DANTE had finished his confession, the apostolic light gives him its benediction, even as a lord embraces his servant from whom he hears what pleaseth him. Into the faith that maketh all souls known to God, thus entered DANTE.

Now the baron who draws so many pilgrims to Galicia, left the group whence PETER had come, and was besought by BEATRICE to examine the poet concerning hope. So JAMES asks what hope is, what degree of hope was his, whence he obtained it, and what he hopes for. “*Sperent in te*” resounded from on high, and all the heavenly carols answered responsive to the words.

Now issued from that same band a light of such exceeding brightness that the poet became as one who by seeing the sun doth become sightless. It was the light of him who was elected from the cross to the great office. JOHN asks him to what his soul is aimed, who aimed it at such a target, if other cords besides draw him to God. At his satisfactory answer, a sweet song resounded throughout heaven, “Holy, Holy, Holy!” and the radiance of BEATRICE chased from before his eyes every mote, and he saw better than before. Now from the light of the first soul that ever was created, from the light of Adam, he besought an answer to the doubts that beset him concerning divers matters, and his doubts were set at rest. Then began all Paradise to sing, “Glory, glory, glory to Father, Son and

Spirit," and the melody made the poet inebriate, forcing its way into the soul by sight as well as by hearing, for it seemed a smile of the universe. There follow upon this the magnificent denunciations by PETER of the corruptions of the Holy See, in which I find no special difficulty. All that follows seems to me to enter more easily into the general scheme of the poem than these examinations on theological dogmas.

For consider; DANTE is in Heaven; as far as any knowledge of these things is necessary to enter there, his presence alone was sufficient evidence of his orthodoxy. Moreover, the faithful, even in Purgatory, are practically secure against all assaults of spiritual enemies; even they who in Ante-Purgatory were waiting until the time should arrive when should begin the work proper of their purification, delayed by their contumacy while in life, were guarded at night by two angels, who put to flight the serpent that gave to Eve the bitter food. Even those who in the first circle of Purgatory are purified of their pride, have no need to pray for themselves, that they be delivered from temptation, but only for them whom they have left behind. If the sufferers in Purgatory were safe, how much more the blessed in Paradise, who enjoy the sight of God himself?

DANTE, to be sure, is in the literal sense, a living man among the dead, and as such may perhaps be thought subject to temptation when he shall return to earth. But he is one who had by the grace of God a foretaste of what falls from the table of the the company elect to the great supper of the Lamb benedight, who as the Emperor of Heaven had willed, had found himself face to face with His Counts in the most secret chamber. Moreover, nearly all those with whom he speaks in Purgatory and Paradise, MANFRED, BUONCONTE, GUINICELLI, JUSTINIAN, CACCIAGUIDA, assume the return of DANTE to the world after the completion of his tremendous journey, with purified moral perceptions as well as with purified mental vision.

It is too repeatedly affirmed that there is no need in Paradise of question and answer, as far as the saints are concerned.

"Not that our knowledge may be greater made
By speech of thine, but to accustom thee
To tell thy thirst, that we may give thee drink,"

says BEATRICE, and DANTE thereupon makes his request of CACCIAGUIDA, to whom all things contingent are visible in the eternal aspect, concerning his future life. And in the very passage I am discussing, BEATRICE declares that from

ST. PETER is not hidden if DANTE love well, hope well and believe, but he must be given the means to speak of the true faith, which makes citizens of Paradise. It might seem at first sight as if this answered the question, as far at least as the literal sense was concerned, but if so, it is an answer which is itself in need of an interpretation, like too many of the solutions we get in this world to more important and puzzling problems than this. For it is hardly a satisfactory answer to my wonder at this strange demand, to expound in Heaven itself some rather difficult theological questions, a demand addressed to a living man, brought by the special and astounding grace of God through the torments of Hell and the pains of Purgatory and the lower spheres of Heaven, until he is ready to enter into the very presence of God Himself,—addressed to such a man by beatified creatures who see by direct vision of the face of God, not only the fullness of those virtues of which they ask DANTE to tell, but also what DANTE himself will answer to their demand; it is no satisfactory answer to my wonder, to say that they want to give him a chance to tell what he knows. When we ask questions, not for our own information, but that another may speak, it must be for his good, or at least that some good may come to some other being or to some cause. DANTE did not need this chance because of any doubt concerning his progress in the heavenly regions, for this was practically assured. That his "immense affection" was somewhat bedewed from that fount whence the saints always drink, by this chance to affirm his faith, hope and love, cannot be doubtful after the prayer of BEATRICE; but—"somewhat bedewed," was it worth while to spend three books in reciting what should be only "somewhat" gratifying to his immense affection?

But is there any cause for the sake of which it might seem more probable that this declaration was desirable? The glory of God, no doubt, requires mortals always to ascribe praise to him, even in Heaven, but there again the mere fact of the presence of a mortal amid the splendors of Heaven, is a greater proof of His glory than can possibly be given by spending three books in defining some theological conceptions, of which the clear understanding must first have been furnished him, in part at least, by the very mediation of those who put the questions to him. The same objection applies to supposing that the joy of the saints who hear him declare his faith, hope and love, can be the cause of their questions and of his declarations. That

their joy is greater from hearing him, must be supposed, but that it is so much greater as to make it natural to spend three books in recounting an examination, the result of which they knew perfectly well beforehand, is hard to believe. Nor is it easy to imagine any other cause for it.

These then are some of the difficulties which present themselves to me when I try to understand the place these three books hold in the plan of the poem, when taken in the literal sense. But if they can be explained satisfactorily in connection with the allegorical teaching that the poem was primarily intended to convey, it is a matter of no very great importance if they do not fit in exactly with the literal sense. For though it is to be remembered that the literal must precede and include the allegorical sense, as DANTE himself tells us in the 'Convito,' it is impossible to hold any poet so strictly to account in a poem of so great a length as not to allow of inconsistencies which are not too gross, even of an occasional lapse of memory, if the essential idea is not too sharply contradicted. Moreover, in the allegories of some of DANTE'S masters, notably of RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR and of ST. AUGUSTINE, as is evident from the elaborate analyses of the 'De Quantitate Animae' and of the 'De Contemplatione' of the one and of the other, given by LUBIN in his edition of the 'Commedia,' there is a certain fluidity of conception which allowed greater variety of presentation than would be considered excusable by the more rigid notions of consistency of our day. This was even a matter of theory; ST. AUGUSTINE in the 'Confessions' expressly says that it can be argued properly that the inspired authors have foreseen all the truth that can be drawn from the Scriptures, or even if the authors themselves have not seen it, the spirit that inspired them has foreseen it. And DANTE himself says in the 'Vita Nuova,' where he has explained the persistent recurrence of the number nine in connection with BEATRICE, as indicating that she was a miracle wrought by the Trinity, the square of which is nine, that perhaps others may see a more subtle reason, but that this satisfies him. It is obvious that this more subtle reason, if found, would not discredit in his judgment the explanation which he had already offered.

We must not be surprised then if the allegory of the 'Divine Comedy' assumes a different aspect, according to the position of him who views it. But some one of the several theories as to the correct interpretation of the allegory of the poem should

be able satisfactorily to explain this discussion of the theological virtues, held in Heaven itself between the saints who needed no enlightenment, and DANTE, who also, as they knew perfectly well, needed no enlightenment, at whose answers the heavenly hosts, to whom nothing is contingent, who knew what they would be before they were given, sang hymns of glory and praise.

It can hardly be expected that I shall discuss at any length the difficult problem of the proper understanding of the allegory which is contained in the 'Commedia.' A thorough discussion would demand, not only more time and patience on the part of those who hear me than I am bold enough to ask for, but also more erudition and a keener power of discrimination than I possess. But something must be said, if only as a guide in the interpretation of the passage I am discussing.

In the first place, what is an allegory? It is important to remember that for the purpose of this paper we do not so much need to know what the modern and, as we probably flatter ourselves, more correct use of the word is, but what DANTE himself means by the term. The word allegorical is used by DANTE in his letter to CAN GRANDE to include all the senses except the literal which can be found in any passage or incident. It is somewhat significant also, when we consider his relations to BONAVENTURA and HUGH and RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR, that he calls these senses *mystici sensus*, mystic meanings.

But allegory had for DANTE a peculiar meaning of its own, in addition to the general meaning which he gives it. He does not define it in either sense further than to say that it comes from the Greek *ἁλλοίος*, meaning different. Nor is his use of the word sufficient to make his meaning perfectly clear. The beginning of the cxivth Psalm, so well known to DANTE students, "When Israel went out of Egypt, the house of Jacob from a people of strange language, Judah was his sanctuary, and Israel his dominion," is interpreted to mean by allegory our redemption by Christ, that is, one fact, our redemption by Christ, is signified by another fact, the departure of Israel out of Egypt. The moral sense of the same passage he declares to be the turning of our souls from the mourning and misery of sin to a state of grace, that is, we are enjoined to take a certain course of action by being told that another, which we are expected to see was analogous, was taken formerly by somebody else. The anagogical sense he declares to be the departure of a blessed

soul from the slavery of this corruption to the liberty of eternal glory, that is, the glorious end that awaits all the faithful is revealed to us by telling us the historical fact of the final departure of an enslaved people out of Egypt. Here, as before, we are expected to see the analogy for ourselves.

It is plain that DANTE, even if he recognizes a special meaning to the term allegory, uses it, or at least would not hesitate to use it, to include conceptions so far apart as the communication of one fact by another, the inculcation of moral teaching by a historical fact, and an expression of our hopes and aspirations by the same historical fact, and that in his opinion all these diverse senses could properly be discovered or put into the same passage or book. It is easy to laugh at some of the explanations given of DANTE's great poem, and indeed nothing can be further from our modern ways of thinking and expressing our thoughts than such far-fetched analogies and the kind of ingenuity needed to find them, but the ease of our laughter is not always proportioned to the justness of its cause. I know of nothing more instructive in this respect in recent DANTE literature than the pages used by LUBIN in the studies prefixed to his edition of the 'Commedia' in giving a detailed account of some of the mediæval treatises which might be expected to throw some light on the matter. Indeed he finds even in late classic times, in MACROBIUS and FULGENTIUS, the beginnings of this extravagant use of allegory, but he finds his best examples in the Church Fathers, especially the mystics. He finds almost an absolute correspondence between the 'De contemplatione' of RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR and the 'Commedia,' so that it seems almost as if he supposes that DANTE drew from the mystic the whole plan of his poem. The correspondence does not seem so perfect to me as to him, but he has shown enough to make it clear that this sort of allegory commended itself to DANTE's taste, which was also plain enough from the letter to CAN GRANDE, where he refers to this, and to treatises of ST. BERNARD and ST. AUGUSTINE, as sufficient to shut the mouths of those who object to his treating of such high matters.

Now if the 'Convito' contains much, if even the 'Vita Nuova' contains some things, which show this tendency to interpret all that is done or said, all that happens or has happened, as intended to convey some subtle lesson to man, it is to be expected that in the most important work of DANTE's life he should have clothed the lessons he sought to give in the mystic

dress, so familiar and dear to him. There are indications that he did not suppose that the allegory would be clear in all its details to everybody; if the main lesson was clear, and of that there can be no doubt, he could safely trust to the more cultivated part of his readers, to whom teaching given in this way was a familiar thing, to discover the more recondite lessons that were hidden there.

"Here, Reader, fix thine eyes well on the truth,
For now indeed so subtile is the veil,
Surely to penetrate within is easy."

This he says, when in Ante-Purgatory the Angels descend to protect the penitent souls from the serpent which came 'twixt grass and flowers. And in fact it is not very difficult to see here that the serpent represents the tempter, and the Angels the divine grace and love which guard from his attack. But even here, so foreign is the very conception to our modern notions, that some commentators, not very many, 'tis true, have tried to give the passage a meaning directly contrary to the obvious one, to make DANTE tell us that the allegory here is so difficult that it can easily be overlooked. But if the veil of allegory is here so thin, in the opinion of the poet, it is evident that he knows that it is not everywhere so easily pierced.

The main lesson of the 'Commedia' is easy to perceive, indeed it is hard to overlook it, for any attentive reader, even without the help that DANTE himself gives us, but it is interesting to hear the poet tell us in his letter to CAN GRANDE, what he intended or hoped to accomplish by this great and crowning labor of his life. The subject of the book, he tells us, is, taken allegorically, man, as, by merit or demerit through freedom of the will, he becomes subject to the justice of reward and punishment. The end of the work, both taken as a whole, and of the 'Paradiso' in particular, is to remove those who live in this life from the state of misery and lead them to a state of felicity. Most of the interpretations of the 'Commedia' go back naturally to this declaration; so far as I know, only one is not founded on it, and that is the political one of ROSSETTI and AROUX. I only know this at second hand, but it is hard to believe that there are any of the more intelligent DANTE students who now hold that the political teaching of the poem, in the ordinary sense of the word at least, is anything more than secondary and incidental. I have not been able to learn in detail even what the theory is, and thus do not know the more

or less plausible grounds for assertions which are in such flagrant opposition, not only to the most obvious meaning of the poem, but to the practically unanimous interpretation of all the commentators from BOCCACCIO down to the beginning of this century. In any case, it is impossible for me to conceive, in the absence of distinct accounts of what their speculation is, the part that Paradise can play in their scheme. If it represents the universal power of the Emperor, and the unquestioned supremacy of Ghibelline principles, then perhaps these declarations concerning the faith could be supposed to represent taking the oath of allegiance, or something of the sort, which might seem important enough to warrant spending some time to describe them. But while it might be possible to find an explanation which would harmonize pretty well with the situation, the theory itself is so wild that it is hardly worth while to spend any time over it.

It is necessary to recur to DANTE'S own explanation of his purpose. But how shall we explain the explanation? I do not need to consider at any length the theory that the poet means simply to warn men of the consequences of vice, to allure men by the rewards of virtue, so that they shall choose the service of God and desert the service of the Devil. Any acquaintance, even the most superficial, with the 'Convito' and the 'Vita Nuova' and the 'Canzoniere' makes any such position untenable. That this is taught is of course beyond question, but that this only is taught, can be believed only by him who does not know or has forgotten that DANTE means by allegory something more than a moral tale; certainly in DANTE'S own mind his great poem was not simply a more sublime "Shepherd of Salisbury plain." It is certain that by some critics it is held a defect that DANTE has tried to put into the 'Commedia' more than a bare recital of his imaginary journey, with such wealth of insight and power of poetic form as could be properly there employed, and it is equally certain that without this narrative form, accompanied as it is by extraordinary vigor and depth of conception and execution, it could never have reached the position it holds in the world's literature, however it might have been appreciated by critics and students. But it remains true that the allegory of the 'Commedia' contains vastly more than a simple admonition to men to flee from vice and pursue virtue. But even if it were not so, the passage I am discussing is no clearer. Men would certainly not be led to feel more ardor in

the Christian life, by hearing that they were to be examined in Heaven itself on points of doctrine, as had been the hero of a tale, which however glorious, was yet but a tale.

To explain this problem, as well as most other problems in the general interpretation of the '*Divina Commedia*,' a broader and deeper scheme must be found, which shall include the moral tale certainly, but also the more mystic interpretations of DANTE'S own statement of his purpose. This broader scheme most commentators who have treated the subject at all, have found or have thought that they have found. There are some points on which the differences are not very great. There is substantial unanimity as to the office of DANTE himself in the '*Commedia*,' perhaps also as to that of the "*Donna gentil nel ciel*," and of LUCIA. As DANTE himself represents man, the reasoning animal, so the *Donna gentil* represents the Divine mercy, or prevenient grace, which moved LUCIA, or illuminating grace, to send to the rescue of the wandering poet BEATRICE, who here must, I think, be held to represent effectual grace.

But this can hardly be her office in the spheres of heaven; effectual grace has already done its work, the poet has no further need of the grace that saves, but so much the more does he need help to reach the perfect state, as described by ST. AUGUSTINE and RICHARD of ST. VICTOR, in which the soul sees by intuition those truths even which are beyond or contrary to reason, and this help is furnished by the Divine science, by Theology, which itself is but the reason of man applied to Divine things. This double office of BEATRICE is not foreign to the method of DANTE'S masters in allegory, nor is it in itself inconsistent. The higher reason—which is but another name for the science of Divine things and which, without a higher light than nature affords, could never reach the certainty attained to even by the lower reason in earthly things when this higher light is given—becomes a most efficient, an indispensable aid to the attainment of the perfect state. This is the position of the mediæval speculators, and I am not concerned with its metaphysical or theological correctness.

This identification of BEATRICE with the science of theology goes back at least as far as BENVENUTO DA IMOLA, and her identification with effectual grace dates at least as far back as BOCCACCIO, and seems to me still to explain most consistently and satisfactorily her position in the allegory. She receives the

poet from VERGIL, after his freewill has been declared free, upright and sound, and VERGIL disappears. Thus when the lower reason, which deals only with what the human powers unaided can resolve, has done its work, when the cardinal virtues, whose symbols were already seen in the four stars which shone upon the travelers at the foot of the mount of Purgatory, have become the sure possession of man, there still remains for his attainment what can be given him by the higher reason alone, he still needs to be prepared for the perfect state of contemplation, and this preparation can be given him by the science of Divine things alone. BEATRICE turns over the poet, when at last the Empyrean itself is reached, and the presence of God is to be revealed to him, to ST. BERNARD of Clairvaux, the contemplator. So the science of Divine things, which, though aided by supernatural light, must still proceed by faith and not by sight, gives way, as ST. BERNARD himself shows in the treatise referred to by DANTE, to the intelligence, to the *luce intellettuale*, which needs not to investigate, and which, when attained, leaves nothing wanting to our blessedness.

It is not necessary for my purpose to consider the significance of the other figures of the 'Commedia'; what STATIUS, MATELDA, CATO, and the other personages who seem to be connected with the allegory are intended to represent, can have very little bearing upon determining the significance in the allegory of the examination which I am discussing. So much the more need is there to fix upon the meaning to be given to the chief figure himself, to the poet who tells the tale. That he represents man is scarcely to be doubted; that this representation of man in general gives us many details which are applicable only to DANTE the poet, is beyond question. How can we reconcile these two facts, and further bring them into harmony with DANTE's oft-cited declaration, that the end of his poem was to remove living men from the state of misery, and to lead them to a state of felicity?

This end can be attained either by showing men the punishments of vice and the rewards of virtue, in which may be included, as well as the material sufferings and joys, the internal unrest and tranquillity that attend upon the pursuit of vice and virtue; or by exhortations addressed to that sense of right and wrong that may be presumed to exist in every man born and brought up under the teachings of the Christian religion; or by simply stating the way in which one has already escaped from

the slavery of misery and reached the freedom of felicity. No doubt all these methods are used in the 'Commedia'; the bare recital of what the poet saw, contains the warning and admonition; the exhortations, not numerous enough to turn the poem into a sermon, are meant to be of no slight importance in leading the reader into the ways of virtue; but the most important way, because addressed only to those who have intellectual and spiritual insight sufficiently keen to pierce through the veil of allegory which enshrouds it, is that in which is described the process by which one soul has already been purified and disposed to mount upward to the stars, and there had tarried until his desire and will were equally turned by the love that moves the sun and the other stars. This method depends for its success, not only on the insight of those with whom it is employed, but also on the clearness of the presentation.

It will not do for us to judge on this point from our own habits and opinions in respect to the use of allegory. It is not easy for us to put ourselves into the frame of mind which was so common then, and which is illustrated, to go no farther than DANTE himself, in the disposition to give his *canzoni* and sonnets a more forlorn and widowed appearance, by making his analyses precede instead of following, in his discovery of the singular frequency of the number nine in connection with BEATRICE, and in its explanation. Those who seek only for literary excellence can but be thankful that DANTE did not descend to the puerilities of personification of which mediæval literature is so full. Allegory has not flourished in literature since LESSING dealt it such a vigorous blow in the 'Laokoon,' and I certainly rejoice at it; great as is the intellectual and moral power shown in the allegory of the 'Divina Commedia,' if the poem depended upon these alone for its influence, it would long since have been lost to all but scholars and critics. "It is because," as an English critic says of another poet, "he appeals with perfect directness to the heart, the fancy and even to the ear, that he lives. If he did not do this successfully, winningly, with phrases and fancies that haunt the memory, that mingle with our musings on love and death and day and night, he would be a failure; an artist with an esoteric jargon." But the allegory is there, and a careful study of it by those who are not insensible to the other and more obvious beauties, can only increase for them its power and its beauty.

Now what gives this additional power and beauty is, in my

opinion, the extraordinary force and truth with which is set forth the mediæval theory of the process by which man is rescued from vice and sin, and carried forward until that perfect state is reached, to which it was held man could attain. Like all great ideas, so this must have contained a large element of truth to secure such universal acceptance, however its statement may have been colored by forms of expression which seem to us often misleading and are certainly obsolete.

The Empyrean in the poem must then represent the attainment of this perfect state, and the nine spheres through which the poet passes before reaching the very presence of God, the last stages of preparation for it, during which, as the mystics teach, the soul is fortified by the higher reason, the science of of Divine things, until it can bear the sight of the Most High, until it can both see and know the truth which is not only beyond the lower reason, but contrary to it. This point is reached when the theological virtues, Faith, Hope and Love, have been fully grasped, when the lower reason can do no more, when all that remains to complete the perfection of the soul can be secured only by the free grace of God. Thus ST. BERNARD, who is in the 'Commedia,' as in the books of the Church Fathers, the Contemplator, the representative of the *Vita Contemplativa*, beseeches MARY for so much power that with his eyes he may uplift himself towards the uttermost salvation, that she would scatter from him every cloud of mortality, so that the chief pleasure be displayed to him. And from that time forward, what the poet saw was greater than our discourse, and even the memory yielded to such excess. The keenness of the living ray, he says, would have bewildered him, if his eyes had been but averted from it. Hence he was bolder to bear, and fixed his sight upon the Light Eternal, so that his seeing was consumed. This must mean, as I think is certain from the comparisons made by LUBIN with ST. BERNARD and RICHARD OF ST. VICTOR, that the soul which has reached the perfect state sees by direct vision the truths which by souls less advanced in Divine things must either be accepted on authority, or reached by a laborious effort of ratiocination.

Now this state has been reached, or nearly so, when, in the heaven of the fixed stars, DANTE is examined by PETER, JAMES and JOHN, on Faith, Hope and Love. And in fact, what intervenes between this scene and that where DANTE, turning in the Empyrean to inquire of BEATRICE of things concerning which

he was in suspense, beheld an old man, clad like the glorious people? After PETER'S denunciations of the corruptions of the Papacy, the poet directs one last look at the earth, at the suggestion of BEATRICE, and sees its littleness, as of a petty threshing-floor. So never is the absolute littleness of earthly things so apparent as when the soul is about to be severed from them permanently, by absorption in the contemplation of Divine things. Then he ascends with his guide into the *Primum Mobile*, where he gazes upon the Angelic Hierarchy circling around the Divine centre. BEATRICE explains to him the order of that hierarchy, and its correspondence to the nine spheres of Paradise. She tells him of the creation of the angels, of the rebellion of some among them, and of their fall. All of these things are subjects with which the discursive reason cannot deal, or at best can only consider them after data which must be furnished by authority. He ascends with his guide into the *Empyrean*, to the light intellectual replete with love. No sooner had this living light flashed around him, than he perceived himself to be uplifted over his own power. Then came the new vision of the River of Light and of the Celestial Rose, which are foreshadowing prefaces of the truth, not difficult in itself, but only for him whose vision is defective. In the vastness of the Rose, his vision was not lost, but comprehended all the quantity and quality of that gladness. So the mind of him who has in his possession, by the aid of the Divine science, the three theological virtues of Faith, Hope and Love, can, by the special permission of God, look upon the symbols even of those truths which are not possible for him to attain by direct vision as yet. When DANTE turns to ask BEATRICE for a full understanding of the splendid and profound things that are unfolded to his sight, he sees her no more; BERNARD the Contemplator has taken her place, and by his intercession DANTE looks upon the very face of God.

If this interpretation of the general plan of the '*Paradiso*,' which is essentially that of LUBIN, is correct, the explanation of the passage I am considering is not far to seek, especially taken in connection with an utterance of ST. BERNARD in the very treatise DANTE cites as an example of how heavenly themes should be handled. That we feel a greater joy at saying a thing, says BERNARD, is a proof in favor of its truth. That when the discursive reason is about to resign its office to direct vision, it should devoutly recall the truths it has discovered, is a natural

termination of its activity, not because of the joy it feels at confessing its faith, though that may be great, but because that very joy is another and crowning proof to the humble and faithful soul of the truth of what it confesses. For this purpose three books are scarcely too much, the more as there must also be painted the joy of the saints over the purification of the intellect [*Intellectus* is the word used by ST. BERNARD himself] of one more of those for whose salvation they had worked and prayed while in this mortal life. As the whole mount of Purgatory trembles when any soul, feeling itself pure, has a volition to rise upward, so the blessed spirits in the eighth heaven shout for joy, when the intellect of any man is wholly purified, and they express their joy.

The appropriateness of the examiners, especially of PETER and JOHN, is so obviously the reason of their choice, that it sufficiently explains why the examination is laid in the sphere of the fixed stars which is imagined as the abode of the Saints and the Apostles of the Old and the New Testament, rather than in the *Primum Mobile*, in which is placed the Angelic Hierarchy, and which just precedes the final surrender of faith to knowledge. What is touched on in the intervening period, moreover, concerns matters which, if not contrary to reason, are at least not attainable by reason alone. Excepting so far as enlightenment comes from Divine Grace, they are matters only of opinion, which is, according to ST. BERNARD, the least satisfactory result in the investigation of truth.

Let me resume, as briefly as I can, my explanation of these three books. The chief allegory of the 'Paradiso' I take to be the progress of the soul from active searching after truth to its secure possession by direct vision. BEATRICE is the poet's guide as long as he is searching after truth, BERNARD his intercessor to secure its direct vision. This direct vision of truth cannot be given to him who has not strengthened himself in the pursuit of those truths which can be found by the higher reason, illuminated by grace. This necessary degree of strength has been nearly reached by DANTE, when he reviews the grounds of his faith, and the joy he feels himself, as well as the joy manifested by the saints and apostles, is a crowning proof of the eternal verities he has confessed. In this way the scene in the eighth heaven seems to me to enter naturally into the scheme of the poem, and forms an important enough part of it to justify so many lines spent upon it.

I can see only two serious objections to such an explanation. It may be said that it is hard to believe that DANTE requires a knowledge of theology as a necessary prerequisite to the joys of Heaven. But in the first place, the *Vita Activa* which is thus contrasted with the *Vita Contemplativa* and must precede it, is not merely a life which busies itself with studying the discussions of the doctors; the things of God are to be sure in this view the noblest occupation of man, and as such DANTE represents himself as busied with them chiefly. But it embraces also, as AUGUSTINE says in the treatise that DANTE cites, all other acts of a virtuous life, such as are within the reach of all. All virtue prepares for the vision of God, but as there are different degrees of virtue in DANTE'S Paradise, symbolized by the different spheres, so the virtue which prepares the soul for it may, or rather must, be of different degree, if not of different kind. The soul will have to answer in such an examination only within the measure of its knowledge, and it is perhaps not too fanciful to think that the adaptation of the examination to the capacity of the examined is signified by DANTE himself, when his guide beseeches PETER to examine on points light and grave, *come ti piace*, as seemeth good to thee. But however this may be, a life which is virtuous by God's grace and in His love, is a sufficient preparation even in theological things for some place at least in the spheres of Heaven in strict accord with the teaching of DANTE'S masters.

The other objection may come from those who do not accept that interpretation of the 'Paradise' which I have given. I am not blind to what can be said against it, but that it explains satisfactorily these three books, is itself something in its favor. But aside from this, I certainly should not deny that other interpretations of the allegory may be in perfect harmony with the poet's thought; he expressly admits, as I have shown, different allegorical meanings in the same passage of the Bible. I only claim that the chief aim is distinctly religious, that political teaching and also moral teaching, so far as it can be distinguished from religious, are distinctly subordinated to religious teaching, and I confess I find it hard to understand the frame of mind of those who regard it differently. Now, as most of the great problems of the world are at bottom religious, and as no solution of these problems has ever been offered which does not contain also the solution of much that has no direct reference to religion, it is not strange that much can be justly found

there that suggests other interpretations than the religious one. But it remains true that the poem so obviously religious, written by a poet so surely of deep religious conviction, cannot be supposed to use religion as a mere covering for other things. A religious interpretation of these three books must then be sought for, and I certainly have been able to find no other which accords so well with the letter and spirit of the Sacred Poem, to which both Heaven and Earth have set their hand.

III.—*Notes on Elizabethan Prose.*

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The progress of English prose is a subject of great interest, and one that has not as yet been thoroughly treated from the historical point of view. Here, as elsewhere in literary, as well as scientific subjects, the inductive method must be employed, and by selection and comparison the advance made from century to century may be indicated. Any treatment of the subject making the smallest pretension to fullness should begin at least as early as the second half of the fourteenth century, with the prose of WYCLIF and his contemporaries, after the native and foreign elements of the language had become so blended into one that what was once foreign was no longer felt to be so. The progress should be traced through the fifteenth century, marked by the names of MANDEVILLE—whose so-called ‘Travels’ has at last found its true historical position,—PECOCK, MALORY and CAXTON, to the first half of the sixteenth century, when prose-writers become more numerous, and the language becomes more flexible and better suited to the purposes of prose, as seen in the writings of SIR THOMAS MORE and his controversial opponent, WILLIAM TYNDALE, SIR THOMAS ELYOT, whose “Booke called the Governour” is a real land-mark of English prose, BISHOP HUGH LATIMER, the most forcible and witty preacher of his time, and ROGER ASCHAM, who connects the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, and who deliberately uses English for his works, although it would have been “more easier” for him to write in Latin.

The present paper makes no such pretensions as those indicated above. Its object is merely to put together certain notes on readings in some of the prose-writings of the Elizabethan age, including in this term its inseparable companion, the reign of the “royal pedant,” and prolonging it into that of his unfortunate son, for even MILTON is “the last of the Elizabethans.”

In studying the prose of the reign of Elizabeth, it is natural to begin with that work whose publication marked an era in the history of English prose almost as notable as that marked in poetry by its exact contemporary, SPENSER’s ‘Shepherd’s Calendar,’ that is, the ‘Euphues’ of JOHN LYLY (1579–80).

It is now twenty years since PROFESSOR ARBER made this work accessible to the general public in his valuable series of 'English Reprints.' PROFESSOR HENRY MORLEY had given us an interesting study of "Euphuism" in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1861. DR. WEYMOUTH followed with his study of "Euphuism" in the *Transactions of the Philological Society of London* for 1870-72, but the part containing his paper is unfortunately out of print and I have been unable to procure access to it. DR. LANDMANN, of Giessen, published his "Shakespeare and Euphuism" in the *New Shakspeare's Society's Transactions* for 1880-82, and he has more recently summed up the chief characteristics of Euphuism in the Introduction to his selections from "Euphues and the Arcadia" published in *Englische Sprach- und Literaturdenkmale*; and MR. SAINTSBURY has well, though briefly, criticized Euphuism in the second chapter of his 'History of Elizabethan Literature.' With the thin thread of thought contained in the plot, or story, of 'Euphues' I have nothing to do. The time of writing good plots for fiction was "not yet." It is altogether with the language, the style, the manner of expression, that I am concerned. Moreover, I shall not stop upon the misconceptions that have prevailed concerning Euphuism, the attempted caricature by SHAKSPERE or SIR WALTER SCOTT. It is not difficult to seize upon some peculiar mannerism of a writer, extravagantly exaggerate it, and call that his style; but we should neither exaggerate nor "extenuate, nor set down aught in malice." DR. LANDMANN finds in 'Euphues' a direct imitation of the style of the Spanish writer GUEVARA, and not only of the style, but of the contents of GUEVARA's 'Life of Marcus Aurelius,' after PLUTARCH, which was translated into English by SIR THOMAS NORTH, the translator of 'Plutarch's Lives' also. Twenty years ago PROFESSOR DOWDEN informed PROFESSOR ARBER that 'Euphues and his Ephœbus,' the excellent treatise "Of the education of youth," was taken from PLUTARCH, and this has been confirmed by LANDMANN, from NORTH's translation, after GUEVARA, of the 'Dial of Princes,' the second book of which "is an imitation of PLUTARCH's book, 'De educatione puerorum.'"

What, then, are the elements of this style that GUEVARA claimed as his own, that LYLÿ popularized in English, and that held sway for some time as the fashionable style in English prose? LANDMANN regards LYLÿ's metaphors as in most

instances not exaggerated or affected, his words as genuine English, and his ideas as sound and reasonable. "It is," says he, "the grammatical structure, the syntax, that strikes us at once as excessively artificial. We here have the most elaborate antithesis, not only of well-balanced sentences, but also of words, often even of syllables. LYL^V is averse to plain single sentences; he prefers twin phrases, parallel clauses, either in juxtaposition or in antithesis." Other elements peculiar to LYL^V's style are "alliteration, consonance, rhyme, playing upon words, and the use of syllables sounding alike," and a peculiar characteristic of the alliteration is that it is often transverse, as DR. WEYMOUTH termed it, or alternate, as I think it might be termed; for example, "Although hitherto I have shrined thee in my heart for a trusty friend, I will shunne thee heerafter as a trothles foe" (LANDMANN, p. xvi.). Again, says LANDMANN, LYL^V makes use of "a long series of illustrations, comparisons, examples, and short similes, taken from ancient history and mythology, from daily life, and from PLINY's Natural History, translating PLINY literally."

These, then, are the chief elements that critics find as characteristic of LYL^V's style. But it seems to me that they select certain examples from LYL^V's work in which these characteristics are prominent, and overlook the fact that, notwithstanding such attributes, a great part of it is written in a clear, easy, natural and pure style, which, barring an occasional quaint word, or form, would scarcely be thought three hundred years old. Let us take a paragraph from his commendation of "Euphues and his England." "to the Ladies and Gentlewoemen of England," for LYL^V wrote for the ladies, and expected them to read and enjoy his work:—"It resteth, Ladies, that you take paines to read it, but at such times as you spend playing with your little Dogges, and yet will I not pinch you of that pastime, for I am content that your Dogges lye in your laps, so *Euphues* may be in your hands, that when you shall be wearie in reading of the one, you may be ready to sport with the other: or handle him as you do your Iunckets, that, when you can eate no more, you tye some in your napkin for children, for if you be filled with the first part, put the second in your pocket for your wayting Maydes. *Euphues* had rather lye shut in a Ladyes casket then open in a Schollers studie." (ARBER, p. 220). Time has, however, relegated LYL^V's book to the scholar's study, for it cannot compete with the latest novel. We find in this paragraph a certain

balance of sentence and a tendency to alliteration, but neither to an objectionable extent, nor, if carried no further, in any way remarkable.

Yet *LYLY* did not pride himself upon the style, but rather upon the matter, of his book. In the Dedication of the second edition (1581) to LORD DE LA WARRE, he says:—"Though the stile nothing delight the daintie eare of the curious sifter, yet will the matter recreate the minde of the curteous Reader; the varietie of the one will abate the harshnesse of the other. Things of greatest profit are set forth with least price; where the wine is neat (i. e. pure) there needeth no Ivi bush; the right Corall needeth no coloring; where the matter itselfe bringeth credit, the man with his glose (i. e. gloss or interpretation; also, flattery) winneth small commendation (p. 203)." Here balance and alliteration are more evident, and a tendency to illustration by means of proverbs. This tendency of *LYLY*'s is, I think, subjected to ridicule by SHAKSPERE in 'Romeo and Juliet,' for we find in this very dedication: "The shomaker must not go above his latchet, nor the Hedger meddle with anything but his bil (i. e., axe) It is unseemly for the Painter to feather a shafte or the Fletcher to handle the pencill:" and SHAKSPERE puts into the mouth of Capulet's servant what would serve for a good burlesque upon this passage: "It is written that the shoemaker should meddle with his yard and the tailor with his last, the fisher with his pencil and the painter with his nets." (1. 2. 40). Other passages of 'Romeo and Juliet' remind us of 'Euphues,' so that not only in 'Love's Labor's Lost' do we find illustrations of Shaksperian Euphuism. *LYLY*'s disposition to "something affect the letter" is carried to an extreme in such sentences as the following: "Thus farre I am bold, gentlemen, to counsel those that be coy that they weave not the net of their own woe, nor spinne the threede of their own thraldome, by their own overthwartnes (i. e. wrongheadedness) (p. 55.)" But after making all allowances for *LYLY*'s fondness for alliteration and antithesis, let us give him credit for certain qualities of style that are manifest in his work, that is, clearness, simplicity, force, even sometimes rising to beauty of expression, and much less "harshness" than is found in his predecessors. This plainness and clearness of speech is seen especially in the second part of his work and in the last section, "Euphues Glasse for Europe," where he holds up England to the admiration of the ladies of Italy,—doubtless with pardonable exaggeration of

the good qualities of the English ladies,—and particularly where he lavishes praise upon Queen Elizabeth. One or two examples must suffice. After contrasting the ladies of England and of Italy, much to the disadvantage of the latter, LYLY asks: "Is it not then a shame, Ladyes, that that little island shoulde be a myrrour to you, to Europe, to the whole world? Learn Ladies, though late yet at length, that the chiefest title of honour in earth is to give all honour to him that is in heaven, that the greatest braverie (i. e. finery) in this worlde is to be burning lampes in the worlde to come, that the clearest beautie in this life, is to be amiable to him that shall give life eternall. Looke in the Glasse of England, too bright I fear me for your eyes; what is there in your sex that they have not and what that you should not have? (p. 446.)" And in praise of the Queen he instances the following: "I myselfe being in England when hir majestie was for hir recreation in hir Barge upon ye Thames, hard of a Gun that was shotte off, though of the partie unwittingly, yet to hir noble person dangerously, which fact she most graciously pardoned, accepting a just excuse before a great amends, taking more grieve for hir poore Bargeman, that was a little hurt, then care for hir selfe that stode in greatest hasarde. O rare example of pittie, O singuler spectacle of pietie!" (p. 453). And thus he continues: "Infinite were the ensamples that might be alledged, and almost incredible, whereby shee hath shewed hir selfe a Lambe in meeknesse when she had cause to be a Lion in might, proved a Dove in favour, when she was provoked to be an Eagle in fiercenesse, requiting injuries with benefits, revenging grudges with gifts, in highest majestie bearing the lowest minde, forgiving all that sued for mercie and forgetting all that deserved Iustice." (p. 454.) Whatever we may think of the historical correctness of the portraiture, we must acknowledge that it is a simple and elegant tribute to the character of the Queen as a courtier saw it.

If this paper were confined to a consideration of LYLY'S 'Euphues,' many other examples might be given of his clearness, simplicity, and even beauty of style, his wealth of vocabulary of pure English, his "Englishness," if I may borrow a term applied by "Matthew Browne" to CHAUCER. LYLY prefers short sentences to long ones, and with him we seldom find the subject left loose, poised in mid-air as it were, and searching in vain for its predicate; or *per contra* a predicate at

a loss for its immediate subject. His sentences will parse, no undesirable quality in some of the writings of this age, and they hang well together. We find occasional archaisms, such as the double comparative and superlative, plural subject with a singular verb, adverbial use of *nothing*, relative use of *as* after other demonstratives than *such*, and use of *as* with *when*, etc., use of *whether* as a pronoun, impersonal use of *like*, and others,—all of which may be paralleled from SHAKSPEARE and belonged to the language of the time. We find even such a modern blunder as the use of auxiliaries with the wrong verbal complement; as, "England hath all those yat *can* and *have wrestled* with al others" (p. 441), but one can scarcely pick up a newspaper that has not the same blunder now. We meet, too, with words now obsolete or used in an obsolete sense; as, *sith*, *tickle*, *domesticall*, *maculate*, *feare*=frighten, *escapes*=mistakes, *snore*=snore,—to mention but a few. Taking into consideration the time when LYLY wrote, I do not think that any careful reader will deny to him the praise awarded by his contemporary JOHN ELIOT, in a French sonnet prefixed to GREENE'S 'Perimedes, The Blacke Smith' (1588), (quoted in full in ARBER'S Introduction):

"Greene et Lylli tous deux raffineurs de l'Anglois,"
even if one might not concur with his Latin eulogist,

"Tullius Anglorum nunc vivens Lillius."

I pass now to LYLY'S more distinguished contemporary, SIR PHILIP SIDNEY, who has left us the 'Arcadia' and the little pamphlet, "An Apologie for Poetrie," as examples of his prose style. LANDMANN has printed the first chapter of the first book of the 'Arcadia' along with his selections from 'Euphues,' and has summed up the chief elements of SIDNEY'S style. He thinks that "although SIDNEY may have been a Euphuist at court, he avoided it entirely in his 'Arcadia,' written between 1580-86," and that the publication of the 'Arcadia,' in 1590 detracted much from the reputation of 'Euphues.' He finds the chief elements of style in the 'Arcadia' to consist in "endless tedious sentences, one sometimes filling a page, in the fondness for details, and in the description of the beauties of rural scenery;" also in "comparisons and conceits couched in excessively metaphorical language, quaint circumlocutions for simple expressions and bold personifications of inanimate objects." "Besides," says he, "Sidney is fond of playing upon words, and is not averse to *simple* alliteration, but he avoids LYLY'S

artificial combination of parisonic antithesis with *transverse* alliteration, as well as his absurd similes taken from Pliny;" so he concludes that SIDNEY's "style and diction are certainly affected, but his language has, nevertheless, its charms, and has decidedly won the ascendancy over LYL'Y's more artificial extravagance."—The source of the 'Arcadia' is affirmed to be the 'Diana' of MONTEMAYOR, not the 'Arcadia' of SANNAZARO, except as to title. This is proved, says LANDMANN, at a glance. "The style is the same in both, even the same ideas occur." "Sidney also translated some of the songs of the 'Diana';" and some other points of resemblance are noted. On the general question of the influence of Italian prose upon English writers, LANDMANN thinks that it "was neither deeply felt, nor was it injurious." It would be interesting for some Spanish scholar to trace more thoroughly and directly the indebtedness of English prose of the reign of Elizabeth to the Spanish writers.

The 'Apologie for Poetrie,'—which PROFESSOR ARBER has made generally accessible, (although I was surprised to find, by comparison of ARBER's 'Reprint' with an edition of 1724, that it has some omissions),—is usually considered a better specimen of SIDNEY's prose style than the 'Arcadia.' It is, perhaps, freer from the faults of the latter work, which have been well characterized by MR. SAINTSBURY. He says: "If Sidney's vocabulary is not Latinised or Italianised or Lylyfied, he was one of the greatest of sinners in the special Elizabethan sin of convoluting and entangling his phrases; . . . so as to say the simplest thing in the least simple manner. . . . Yet again, he is one of the arch offenders in the matter of spoiling the syntax of the sentence and the paragraph. . . . Sidney was one of the first writers of great popularity and influence to introduce what may be called the sentence-and-paragraph heap, in which clause is linked on to clause till not merely the grammatical, but the philosophical integer is hopelessly lost sight of in a tangle of jointings, and appendices." . . . "The faults of 'Euphues,'" he thinks, "were faults which were certain to work their own cure: those of the 'Arcadia' were so engaging in themselves, and linked with so many merits and beauties, that they were sure to set a dangerous example." ('History of Elizabethan Literature,' pp. 42, 43.) I must concur with MR. SAINTSBURY in these criticisms, nor do I think that many "purple patches" make amends for a deficiency in syntactical clearness. Perhaps

one reason why DR. LANDMANN seems to give the preference to the style of SIDNEY over that of LYLIV is that it is more similar to that of the native German unpurified by contact with French and English writers. (Vide DE QUINCEY'S *Hist. and Crit. Essays*, in Vol. ii.) Criticism of KANT, Essay on "Style."

But let us test the matter by a few specimens of SIDNEY'S style, that is, if it is ever right to judge an author by short examples, which, however well they may serve for illustration of particular points, can never give a correct idea of the writer's general style. Let us take the opening sentence of the 'Arcadia,' as given in LANDMANN'S selections:—

"It was in the time that the earth begins to put on her new apparel against the approach of her lover, and that the sun running a most even course becomes an indifferent arbiter between the night and the day; when the hopelesse shepherd *Strephon* was come to the sandes, which lie against the Island of Cithera; where viewing the place with a heavy kinde of delight, and sometimes casting his eyes to the Ileward, he called his friendly rivall, the pastor *Claius* unto him, and setting first downe in his darkened countenance a doleful copie of what he would speake: O my *Claius*, said he, hether we are now come to pay the rent, for which we are so called unto by over-busie Remembrance, Remembrance, restlesse Remembrance, which claymes not only this dutie of us, but it will have us forget ourselves."

It almost takes one's breath away to read a fourteen-line opening sentence, with relative clause strung on to relative clause. Here we find metaphorical conceits, and even the alternate alliteration for which LYLIV is so condemned; and,—to quote but a part of the next sentence, "Did Remembrance graunt us any holiday, eyther for pastime or devotion, nay either for necessary foode or naturall rest? but that still it forced our thoughts to worke upon this place, where we last (alas that the word last should so long last) did gaze our eyes upon her ever-florishing beautie," etc.,—where shall we find in LYLIV a worse-sounding play upon words and alliteration combined? This play upon words was, however, a common characteristic of Elizabethan language, and SHAKSPERE himself is a very grievous offender in this respect. What can be worse than Mercutio's chaffing of Romeo and Romeo's retorts?

But SIDNEY'S style is faulty not only in its long sentences. The chief fault I should find with it, is its lack of correct syntax;

subjects appear to be forgotten before the corresponding predicates are introduced; predicates are frequently found with no subjects expressed and they must be inferred from the context; and sometimes the subject is so far removed from the predicate by intervening clauses that it is difficult to make the connection, for example: "But the fishermen, when they came so neere him, that it was time to throwe out a rope, by which hold they might draw him, their simplicity bréd such amasement, and their amasement such a superstition, that (assuredly thinking it was some God begotten betweene *Neptune* and *Venus* that had made all this terrible slaughter) as they went under sayle by him, held up their diands, and made their prayers." We finally discover that it was the fishermen who "held up their hands and made their prayers," but only after the intervention of no less than six dependent sentences and a parenthetical clause; and moreover, the principal subject has no predicate, and the principal predicate no subject expressed. This remarkable sentence continues for ten lines further, beginning with the Latinism, "Which when *Musidorus* sawe, though he were almost as much ravished with joy, as they with astonishment, he left to the Mariner, and tooke the rope out of his hande and," etc.;—but enough has been quoted for my purpose. It reminds one of the familiar expression of CÆSAR, "*Quae quum ita sint*," that school-boys are so fond of translating with exact literalness, order and all! However good for Latin, it will not answer for English.

Let us glance for a moment at the 'Apologie for Poetrie.' SIDNEY sums up the first part of his argument with a sentence nearly a page long, no less than eight successive dependent sentences beginning with the conjunction *sih* (i. e. since), but we will let that pass, as it is the conclusion of one section and opening of another. I have already stated that the style of the 'Apologie' is considered better than that of the 'Arcadia.' Its syntax is less involved; it is clearer and simpler; it is freer from conceits; and while naturally containing archaic words and phrases of the time, it is, looked at from a modern standpoint, more correct. We meet, however, with alliteration, as "a great many wandering wordes" (ARBER, p. 49); "by styrring the Spleene may stay the braine;" "confute others knowledge before they confirme they owne,"—all within a few lines; and we find some phrases that would offend the ears of our modern rhetoricians, "of al other learnings" (p. 48); "those kinde of

objections" (p. 49); "without we will say" (p. 52); and twice in close connection the good old idiom "I had much rather," which some of our neo-grammarians are trying to rule out of the language, but which is found in all periods of good English, as DR. FITZEDWARD HALL has well shown (*Amer. Jour. of Phil.*, ii, 281). But SIDNEY cannot always straighten out his syntax, even in a short sentence, as (p. 59); "Of the other side, who wold shew the honors, have been by the best sort of iudgements granted them, a whole Sea of examples woulde present themselves." This sentence is an-example of the extreme elliptical style, for we find that not only is there an ellipsis of the antecedent *those* of the relative *who*, but also an ellipsis of the relative subject *which* referring to *honors*, and the reader is expected to supply them for himself. We may be permitted to apply to SIDNEY's syntax his own expression concerning *Gorboduc*, of which SIDNEY had a high opinion, yet because it violated the unities, he thought that it was, in truth, "very defectious in the circumstances." SIDNEY's vocabulary, however, deserves all the praise that has been bestowed upon it. It is pure English, and it is very rare that in either LYLLY or SIDNEY we find those Latin formations, as the above *defectious*, which were the bane of the prose style of the seventeenth century, even that of MILTON included, and for relief from which we are indebted to the good hard common sense of DRYDEN and his immediate successors. SIDNEY deserves credit, too, for having appreciated the excellencies of his own language. Speaking of the diction of Poetry, he passes to that of Oratory, but soon checks himself as follows (p. 69); "But what? Me thinkes I deserve to be pounded for straying from Poetrie to Oratorie: but both have such an affinity in this wordish consideration, that I thinke this digression will make my meaning receive the fuller understanding, which is not to take upon me to teach Poets howe they should doe, but onely finding myselfe sick among the rest, to shewe one or two spots of the common infection growne among the most part of Writers: that acknowledging our selves somewhat awry, we may bend to the right use both of matter and manner; whereto our language gyveth us great occasion, beeing indeed capable of any excellent exercising of it. I know, some will say it is a mingled language. And why not so much the better, taking the best of both the other? Another will say, it wanteth Grammer. Nay truly, it hath that prayse that it wanteth not Grammer: for

Grammer it might have, but it needes it not; beeing so easie of it selfe, and so voyd of those cumbersome differences of Cases, Genders, Moodes, and Tenses, which I thinke was a peece of the Tower of *Babilons* curse, that a man should be put to schoole to learne his mother-tongue. But for the uttering sweetly and properly the conceits of the minde, which is the end of speech, that hath it equally with any other tongue in the world: and is particularly happy in compositions of two or three words together, neere the Greeke, far beyond the Latine: which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language." The trouble with SIDNEY was that he did not realize that grammar consisted in something more than "cumbersome differences of cases, genders, moodes and tenses," and that the lack of these made all the more necessary a careful attention to verbal order and correct syntactical construction.

But it is now time to consider that writer who made the greatest advance of all writers of the reign of Elizabeth towards the formation of a really good English prose style, "the judicious Hooker." HOOKER has been often praised for first treating an abstruse philosophical subject in English and not in Latin, and he deserves all the credit that can be awarded him; for he preceded BACON and differed from him, too, in that BACON thought it necessary to translate even his English works into Latin that his fame might be perpetuated to posterity. Had HOOKER written in Latin, his great work would have been relegated to the limbo of forgotten books, and English literature would have been deprived of its first modern prose writer that is still universally read and admired. DEAN CHURCH, in the Introduction to his edition of the first book of HOOKER'S 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' (C. P. SERIES), the book which is of general interest and which was published with three others in 1594, says of HOOKER'S writings that "they mark an epoch at once in the history of English thought and in the progress of the English language;" that "Hooker, like Shakespeare and Bacon, may be said to have opened a new vein in the use of the English language"; furthermore, that "Hooker is really the beginner of what deserves to be called English literature, in its theological and philosophical province." These statements are not exaggerated. Let anyone read the literature of the time, even the best of its prose, that of LYLIE and SIDNEY, and then take up the 'Ecclesiastical Polity.' Although these writers mark an advance in English prose, HOOKER at one leap went far

beyond them. It is a marvel where he got his style from. He had no model; he evolved from his own consciousness the phraseology and expression that so well suited his weighty thoughts. That he should have been to some extent under the influence of the Latin and Greek writers who formed the subjects of his daily studies was in no way remarkable. What is remarkable is that he should have so succeeded in transferring the gist of his studies into such pure and idiomatic English. HOOKER's style has, I think, been depreciated by PROFESSOR MINTO. DEAN CHURCH's views seem to me more critical. He says of HOOKER's work: "It first revealed to the world what English prose might be: its power of grappling with difficult conceptions and subtle reasonings, of bringing information and passion to animate and illuminate severe thought, of suiting itself to the immense variety of lights and moods and feelings which really surround and accompany the work of the mind; its power of attracting and charming like poetry, its capacity for a most delicate or most lofty music. The men who first read the early books of Hooker must have felt that their mother-tongue had suddenly appeared in a form which might bear comparison with the great classical models for force or beauty." DEAN CHURCH refers to the statement of SWIFT that HOOKER "had written English so naturally and simply that his works survived the changes of fashion, and could be read without offence in the days of Addison and Pope."

The qualities of HOOKER's style that will first strike the reader are, I think, its smoothness of expression and compactness of structure. HOOKER sometimes used long sentences, but they are well constructed. The long sentences of HOOKER and those of SIDNEY are as far apart as the antipodes. Had HOOKER written like SIDNEY, it would have been a labor to disinter his thought. On the contrary, HOOKER is always clear in style, even when the thought itself is abstruse. With him the thought is the main element, not, as with LYL, the manner of expression, and the style fits the thought. The expression is always forcible and sometimes elegant. His vocabulary is pure and copious; there are very few obsolete words and there are comparatively few Latinisms. That the style has an archaic cast, and that there is occasional quaintness in expression, is to be expected. To look for anything else is to expect an Elizabethan to write like a Victorian, and to overlook three hundred years of progress in English prose. Is then HOOKER's style perfect?

Has it no faults? Viewed from a modern standpoint, it has some peculiarities to which exception might be taken. That one which I think will first attract attention is HOOKER's fondness for inversion, evidently derived from his familiarity with Latin writings. While inversion is often forcible, and therefore permissible on occasion, as it gives the emphatic position to the emphatic word, it may be easily carried too far. Also, there are occasional ellipses, especially of the substantive verb and of the relative pronoun, which the reader is left to supply, but that is easily done. HOOKER frequently uses the personal pronoun as antecedent to the relative, where we should use the demonstrative; as, *them who*, *them whom*, *them which*, referring to persons, and even includes the antecedent in the possessive; as, "*their brutishness which imagine*," but these expressions are familiar to every reader of SHAKSPERE. Again, we find two subjects with a singular verb, "*force and injury* 'was offered;" *except* used as a conjunction, "*except they gave their common consent*;" *of* in the sense of *from*, "*who of fathers were made rulers*;" even such a rhetorical bugbear as "*those kind of positive laws*" (already noticed in SIDNEY and found in SHAKSPERE,); *not this for this is not*; such expressions as *laws politic*, *laws human*, *any other the like*, *every of these three kinds*, *by any their several laws*, etc., and such words as *commonweal*, *regiment*, *domestical*, *moe*, *sith*, *sithence*, *overpotent*, *instancy*, etc. But it is not worth while to enumerate words and expressions belonging to the Elizabethan age, of which a long list might be made even from the First Book, for they simply serve to give to the style a quaintness and an archaic flavor that are very attractive.

Let us take a few specimens of the way in which HOOKER expresses his thoughts, and especially of his management of short and long sentences; we may select almost at random and must be brief; forexample (CHURCH, Bk. I, p. 51): "All men desire to lead in this world a happy life. That life is led most happily wherein all virtue is exercised without impediment or let. The Apostle, in exhorting men to contentment although they have in this world no more than very bare food and raiment, giveth us thereby to understand that those are even the lowest of things necessary; that if we should be stripped of all those things without which we might possibly be, yet these must be left; that destitution in these is such an impediment as, till it be removed, suffereth not the mind of man to admit any other care.

For this cause, first God assigned Adam maintenance of life, and then appointed him a law to observe. For this cause, after men began to grow to a number, the first thing we read they gave themselves unto was the tilling of the earth and the feeding of cattle. Having by this mean whereon to live, the principal actions of their life afterward are noted by the exercise of their religion. True it is that the Kingdom of God must be the first thing in our purposes and desires. But inasmuch as righteous life presupposeth life; inasmuch as to live virtuously it is impossible except we live; therefore the first impediment, which naturally we endeavor to remove, is penury and want of things without which we cannot live." One is inclined to add "Q. E. D." to this clear and simple logical exposition.

Let us now take a long sentence of somewhat higher style, his eulogy of faith, hope and charity as revealed in the law of God (p. 78):—"Concerning faith, the principal object whereof is that eternal verity which hath discovered the treasures of hidden wisdom in Christ; concerning hope, the highest object whereof is that everlasting goodness which in Christ doth quicken the dead; concerning charity, the final object whereof is that incomprehensible beauty which shineth in the countenance of Christ, the Son of the living God: concerning these virtues, the first of which, beginning here with a weak apprehension of things not seen, endeth with the intuitive vision of God in the world to come; the second, beginning here with a trembling expectation of things far removed and as yet but only heard of, endeth with real and actual fruition of that which no tongue can express; the third, beginning here with a weak inclination of heart towards him unto whom we are not able to approach, endeth with endless union, the mystery whereof is higher than the reach of the thoughts of men; concerning that faith, hope and charity, without which there can be no salvation,—was there ever any mention made saving only in that law which God himself hath from heaven revealed? There is not in the world a syllable muttered with certain truth concerning any of these three more than hath been supernaturally received from the mouth of the eternal God."

What modern writer might not envy the grand tone of this simple climax, the elegant expression of thoughts as fresh now as when first uttered, in language as easily intelligible as if three hundred years did not separate it from to-day! It is hard to realize that this book was probably written in the year of SID-

NEY's death, and but five or six years after the 'Euphues' and the 'Arcadia.' It would seem as if a century should have intervened to secure such progress in English prose.

I must hurry on to notice briefly HOOKER'S great contemporary, who has also left his mark upon English prose. In 1597, three years after the publication of the 'Ecclesiastical Polity,' appeared the first ten 'Essays' of FRANCIS BACON, enlarged to forty in the edition of 1612, and to fifty-eight in that of 1625, the year before BACON'S death. From PROFESSOR ARBER'S parallel-text edition it can be easily seen how each essay grew under BACON'S revision and enlargement. It is usual to take these essays as specimens of BACON'S English style, comment on them, and advise students to read them. Now, while BACON'S Essays are very valuable for the condensed thought that they contain, it does not seem to me that they can be praised for their style. The nature of the work forbids it. The style is highly aphoristic, and consists in putting into as small compass as possible as much thought as possible, and there is no room for graces of style. By comparing, however, an early essay with its later form, it may be seen how BACON'S style improved. The expression is fuller and freer, and less aphoristic. Compare even the brief additions made in the later issues to the essay on "Studies," which appears in four texts, or better the final form of the essay on "Religion," first issued in 1612, the title of which was altered to "Of Unity in Religion" after revision in 1625.

I think a better idea of BACON'S English style may be gotten from his 'History of Henry VII,' written most probably in 1621-2, soon after he went into retirement, and pronounced by the aged FULKE GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE, the friend of SIDNEY, to be "incomparable." In the 'History of Henry VII'—of which a good edition has been edited by the REV. MR. LUMBY (Pitt Press Series),—BACON treated a subject which had long occupied his mind. He was interested in it, and he wrote when his powers of mind were most vigorous, as he was not more than sixty years of age. He had here a fine field for the display of the excellencies of his style. The progress of historical composition may be seen by comparing BACON'S work with the older chronicles, from two of which (HALL and GRAFTON) extracts are given by LUMBY, who says (p. viii): "The perusal of a few lines will suffice to show what a great stride had been made in English prose composition during the reign of Elizabeth, and

to what a degree of perfection it had been brought by the powers of such writers as Bacon and Hooker." The superior ease and finish, the naturalness of BACON'S style, strike us at once in the comparison.

RALEIGH had preceded BACON in the art of description and narration. His brief report of 'The Last Fight of the Revenge' (ed. ARBER) had been written in 1591, and his 'History of the World' was composed during his long imprisonment (1603-18). But RALEIGH'S style was not equal to BACON'S; notwithstanding some very beautiful descriptive passages. He frequently uses long sentences, strung together without discrimination and especially faulty in the treatment of that bane of the Elizabethan writers, the relative pronoun. RALEIGH'S style leaves the impression of crowding together into one sentence too many topics. Thoughts flow in upon each other, and clause is added to clause somewhat after the Sidneian manner. But in any essay on Elizabethan prose making pretension to more than a mere sketch, RALEIGH would deserve more space than can be spared for him here.

BACON'S narrative style may be illustrated by a few quotations. His logical mind knew how to arrange his thoughts systematically and to discriminate proportionately, and the style conforms to the thought. This may be seen at almost the very opening of his work. Discussing the King's title to the throne, he says (p. 7): "But King Henry, in the very entrance of his reign, and the instant of time when the kingdom was cast into his arms, met with a point of great difficulty, and knotty to solve, able to trouble and confound the wisest king in the newness of his estate; and so much the more, because it could not endure a deliberation, but must be at once deliberated and determined. There were fallen to his lot and concurrent in his person three several titles to the imperial crown. The first, the title of the lady Elizabeth, whom, by precedent pact with the party that brought him in, he was to marry. The second, the ancient and long disputed title, both by plea and arms, of the house of Lancaster, to which he was inheritor in his own person. The third, the title of the sword or conquest, for that he came in by victory of battle, and that the king in possession was slain in the field." Here all is clear, simple and compact, the punctuation alone differing somewhat from modern usage, but the language easy and expressive. After considering each of these titles to

the crown, BACON sums up the king's decision as follows, the sentence itself furnishing a good illustration of the way in which BACON managed the long sentence, intercalating subordinate clauses between subject and predicate, and adding participial and relative causes after the main predicate, thus uniting the periodic and the loose structure (p. 9): "But the king, out of the greatness of his own mind, presently cast the die; and the inconveniences appearing unto him on all parts, and knowing there could not be any interreign or suspension of title, and preferring his affection to his own line and blood, and liking that title best which made him independent; and being in his nature and constitution of mind not very apprehensive or forecasting of future events afar off, but an entertainer of fortune by the day; resolved to rest upon the title of Lancaster as the main, and to use the other two, that of marriage, and that of battle, but as supporters, the one to appease secret discontents, and the other to beat down open murmur and dispute; not forgetting that the same title of Lancaster had formerly maintained a possession of three descents in the crown; and might have proved a perpetuity, had it not ended in the weakness and inability of the last prince. Whereupon the king presently that very day, being the two and twentieth of August, assumed the style of king in his own name, without mention of the lady Elizabeth at all, or any relation thereunto. In which course he ever after persisted; which did spin him a thread of many seditions and troubles."

Here we feel inclined to split up and alter a little, especially to change the relatives, the grammatical dependence being thinly disguised by the old practice of putting a period before the relative, which modern usage will not permit. But whatever changes might be needed to give the sentence a more modern form, it cannot be denied that it is perfectly clear as it stands. It merely illustrates the Elizabethan tendency to put as many connected thoughts as possible into one sentence without regard to elegance of style. The sentence is cumbersome, without doubt, but easily intelligible. The insertion of the subject will sometimes mend BACON's sentence-structure, and the omission of the subject, especially when a relative, is also sometimes necessary, as in the following (p. 10): "For they thought generally, that he was a Prince, as ordained and sent down from heaven, to unite and put to an end the long dissensions of the two houses; which although they had had . . . lucid intervals

and happy pauses ; yet they did ever hang over the kingdom, ready to break forth into new perturbations and calamities."

We see then that BACON's grammar still leaves something to be desired to perfect the style. His vocabulary is, however, copious and idiomatic, and but little of it is even now obsolete. We meet with the archaisms, *whereupon*, *whereof*, *thereby*, *therewith*, *thereupon*, etc., characteristic of the time, *for that*, =because, *so as*=provided that, *long of*, as, "if this King did no greater matters, it was *long of* himself; for what he minded he compassed," and other such archaisms. Many Latinisms no longer current might be picked out, as *indubitate*, *ingenerate*, *habilitate* (adj.), *impropriate*, *impoisoner*, etc.; some Romance words, as *disinherison*, *prest*=loan, and *spials*; a good English term *unlawed*, unfortunately lost, and many words used in senses different from their present meaning, as *power*=force of men (Shaksperian), *infinite*=numerous, *diffidence*=distrust, *reduce*=compel, *overcast*=overrate, *respective*=respectful, *sad*=grave, *pensive*=weighty, *concurrents*=contemporaries, *consort*=agreement, and others.

The last section of BACON's work, his description of the character of the King, is an excellent illustration of his style. The sentences are short and well constructed. The terms are chosen with skill to express each trait of character, habit and disposition of the man. The plainest and most idiomatic English is used. One paragraph alone must suffice for illustration, as it preserves a familiar idiom and an incident that is of interest (p. 218): "He was a Prince, sad, serious, and full of thoughts, and secret observations, and full of notes and memorials of his own hand, especially touching persons. As, whom to employ, whom to reward, whom to inquire of, whom to beware of, what were the dependencies, what were the factions, and the like; keeping, as it were, a journal of his thoughts. There is to this day a merry tale; that his monkey, set on as it was thought by one of his chamber, tore his principal note-book all to pieces, when by chance it lay forth; whereat the court, which liked not those pensive accounts, was almost tickled with sport." Whatever criticisms may be made of BACON's style, it was a great advance upon that of any one of his predecessors except HOOKER.

I cannot close this paper without a cursory glance at a writer who, on account of his distinction in another field of literature, has not occupied the position that he deserves as a writer of

English prose, "rare Ben Jonson." There is no better writer of Elizabethan prose than JONSON, and he marks a distinct advance upon BACON. MR. SAINTSBURY has well, though briefly, criticized his style (*op. cit. supra*, pp. 218-20), and MR. SWINBURNE has drawn attention to the value of his work in a recent article in the *Fortnightly Review* (July, 1888). There needs but a hasty perusal of his 'Timber: or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter,' to justify the prominence given to him as a writer of prose by these learned critics. The modernness of his style at once impresses the reader. SAINTSBURY rightly says:—"There can be no greater contrast than exists between the prose style usual at that time . . . and the straightforward, vigorous English of these *Discoveries*. They come, in character as in time, midway between Hooker and Dryden, and they incline rather to the more than to the less modern form." As to the value of JONSON's prose work, MR. SWINBURNE remarks, with his accustomed hyperbole, "a single leaf of his *Discoveries* is worth all his lyrics, tragedies, elegies, and epigrams together." Of course he omits his comedies. BEN JONSON was not only a writer, but he was also a critic of English prose style. We shall look in vain for a better reasoned and better expressed treatise on style than that section of the 'Discoveries,' headed, with JONSON's fondness for Latin titles, "*De stylo et optimo scribendi genere*" (ed. GIFFORD, ix, 212 ff. Partly quoted in SAINTSBURY's 'English Prose'). He refers occasionally to QUINTILIAN, and, doubtless, was indebted to him for some of his thoughts, but his mode of expression was all his own. Although the length of this paper admonishes me to be brief, I cannot refrain from one or two quotations. JONSON begins: "For a man to write well, there are required three necessities: to read the best authors, observe the best speakers, and much exercise of his own style. In style, to consider what ought to be written, and after what manner; he must first think and excogitate his matter, then choose his words, and examine the weight of either. Then take care, in placing and ranking both matter and words, that the composition be comely, and to do this with diligence and often. No matter how slow the style be at first, so it be laboured and accurate; seek the best and be not glad of the froward conceits, or first words, that offer themselves to us; but judge of what we invent, and order what we approve." But one knows not where to stop a quotation from this excellent tract. What a pity that some of our modern

penny-a-liners have not read JONSON! Considering its subject, this brief essay is equal to anything in BACON, and, as to its style, it is far easier and simpler, much less quaint and archaic,—and JONSON died but eleven years after BACON.

Let us listen again to some of his pungent advice:—"But arts and precepts avail nothing, except nature be beneficial and aiding. And therefore these things are no more written to a dull disposition, than rules of husbandry to a soil. No precepts will profit a fool, no more than beauty will the blind, or music the deaf. As we should take care that our style in writing be neither dry nor empty; we should look again it be not winding, or wanton with far-fetched descriptions; either is a vice. But that is worse which proceeds out of want, than that which riots out of plenty. The remedy of fruitfulness is easy, but no labour will help the contrary; I will like and praise some things in a young writer; which yet, if he continue in, I cannot but justly hate him for the same." Notwithstanding the general ease of expression in this sentence, the peculiar Elizabethan use of the inevitable relative pronoun jars upon the ear attuned to grammatical precision.

Lastly, we may note how JONSON developed the precepts of HORACE and QUINTILIAN, and furnished a model for DR. CAMPBELL and his followers: "Custom is the most certain mistress of language, as the public stamp makes the current money. But we must not be too frequent with the mint, every day coining, nor fetch words from the extreme and utmost ages; since the chief virtue of a style is perspicuity, and nothing so vicious in it as to need an interpreter. Words borrowed of antiquity do lend a kind of majesty to style and are not without their delight sometimes. For they have the authority of years, and out of their intermission do win themselves a kind of grace-like newness. But the eldest of the present, and newness of the past language, is the best. For what was the ancient language, which some men so dote upon, but the ancient custom? Yet when I name custom, I understand not the vulgar custom; for that were a precept no less dangerous to language than life, if we should speak or live after the manners of the vulgar; but that I call custom of speech, which is the consent of the learned; as custom of life, which is the consent of the good." JONSON practises what he preaches. There is scarcely a word now obsolete in the whole essay on style. Occasionally we find one or two, as in the following, but their meaning is readily under-

stood in the connection: "Our style should be like a skein of silk, to be carried and found by the right thread, not ravelled and perplexed; then all is a knot, a heap. There are words that do as much raise a style as others can depress it. Superlative and overmuchness amplifies. It may be above faith, but never above a mean." While we might dispense with *superlativity*, it is a pity that we have lost the expressive *overmuchness*. This is a word after MR. FREEMAN'S own heart.

The chief fault I should find with JONSON'S style is one characteristic of all writers of the time, a tendency to ellipsis, especially ellipsis of the subject and of the substantive verb, which ellipses exist in SHAKSPERE *passim*. For clearness and smoothness of style, simplicity and purity of expression, correct structure and forcible balance of sentence, avoidance of cumbersome periods, which almost always lead in the Elizabethan writers to ungrammatical structure,—though JONSON recognizes that "periods are beautiful when they are not too long,"—for all these desirable qualities of a good prose style, we shall find no Elizabethan writer surpassing BEN JONSON. His liberal culture, his sound judgment, his "much exercise of his own style" in his dramatic writings, all contributed to place JONSON'S prose among the best of the period, and to furnish a standing example of the benefits conferred upon the language by its cultivation in the Elizabethan drama.

In the history of English prose style, it is "a far cry," from LYLY to JONSON, although they were contemporaries for thirty-three years, a full generation. In point of time, however, at least fifty years separate the 'Euphues' and the 'Discoveries,' and the progress made in style during that period is correspondent. Still, apart from LYLY'S peculiar affectations and more archaic vocabulary and sentence-structure, it does not seem to me fanciful to find like simplicity and purity of expression in each. JONSON improved upon LYLY even more than LYLY had improved upon his predecessors, but I think that both may rightly be called, in the words of JOHN ELIOT, "raffineurs de l'Anglois."

IV.—*The Geste of Auberi le Bourgoing.*

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The 'Geste' of AUBERI LE BOURGOÏNG, or BOURGIGNON (it is variously written) is contained in three MSS. all of which are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The first and most important of these is No. 860, *Fonds français*, containing besides our poem a series of other 'Gestes' of leading importance. The 'Auberi' of this MS. is the most lengthy of the three, it numbers some 27,264 lines and is in excellent condition except that two or three of the last folios are wanting. The MS. is of about 1250 and is divided into two principal branches: that of AUBERI and that of LAMBERT D'ORRIDON; AUBERI, however, being the most prominent character in both. The beginning of the second, which might escape attention unless one were reading the whole, is on the sixty-ninth folio of the poem which itself commences on page one hundred and thirty-four of the entire codex. A second MS. is No. 859, *Fonds français*, also of about 1250. It is shorter than the first, containing a little over 23,000 verses. The MS. is an interesting one. It was damaged in some way but has been very deftly repaired. The fly-leaves consist of portions of a Code of Justinian and of a book of devotions, both in Latin; its second branch, that of LAMBERT D'ORRIDON, commences on folio ninety-nine. The third MS. is No. 24,368, *Fonds français*, and contains 22,648 verses, ending, instead of the usual *explicit*, with the note: "ce fut fet l'an de grace MCC IIII XX XVIII le prochain mardy devant la nativité." The second branch of this commences on folio fifty-two. There have been other MSS. of this 'Geste' but they are lost. C. FAUCHET, the sixteenth-century philologist and critic, in a note he makes on the margin of folio one hundred and thirty-six of MSS. 860, speaks of another which has disappeared. IMMANUEL BEKKER in 1829, speaks of "eine dem HERRN PROFESSOR VON DER HAGAN gehörige Pergamenthandschrift" of 'Auberi,' but where this may now be I was not able to discover (vide the preface to BEKKER'S 'Roman von Fierabras,' Berlin 1829). A search which I made in the manuscript catalogues of the Arsenal and Maza-

rin libraries and in those of the Department libraries which I could find in the Bibliothèque Nationale, did not reveal anything further upon the subject.

The 'Geste' has never been published. The most ever done in that direction was by P. TARBÉ who published a volume: 'Le Roman d'Aubery le Bourgoing,' Reims, 1849, being the sixth volume of his 'Collection des poètes de Champagne antérieurs au xvi siècle.' The title given by TARBÉ to his work is very misleading. Instead of containing 'Le Roman d'Aubery le Bourgoing,' it contains only 5,300 lines out of a total of 22,648 comprised by the MS. which he used and consists only of extracts made from the poem. The volume is not of much use; for the extracts seem to be made at random. Lines are omitted without indication of the fact and the notes connecting extracts, perhaps some thousands of lines apart in the manuscript, are of the most meager kind. The copying is not always correct and MS. 24,368 has alone been used, which is clearly the worst and least reliable one of the three, as may be seen from an examination of the text. FAURIEL also, in his 'Histoire littéraire de la France,' vol. xxii, p. 318, draws attention to the fact of the inferiority of MS. 24,368, the one used by TARBÉ. TARBÉ's volume contains, of course, no attempt at collation. FRANCISQUE MICHEL published four hundred verses from 'Aubery' in the introduction to his 'Chanson de Roncevaux,' and IMMANUEL BEKKER in the preface to his work above cited published some two hundred and six verses. A further selection of three hundred and sixty lines may be found in BARTSCH et HORNING: 'La Langue et la littérature françaises,' p. 131. Apart from these selections, or series of selections, nothing has been done on the MSS.; they still demand collation and publication. The 'Geste' appears to have received but little treatment. PAULIN PARIS in 'Les manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque du Roi,' ii, 360, has a few lines descriptive of the three MSS.; and FAURIEL, 'Histoire littéraire,' vol. xxii, p. 318, has devoted a few pages to the 'Geste,' consisting of a brief analysis of its contents. The 'Geste' is alluded to by name elsewhere, but very rarely, indeed hardly ever.

With respect to the relative value of the MSS., there can be no doubt but that, as already said, the one from which TARBÉ published his extracts, No. 24,368, is the worst. It contains awkward, confused and incorrect readings, with occasional omissions of lines, while the decasyllabic character of the verse

is not always maintained. This MS. bearing the date already quoted, 1298, is also doubtless the most recent, as may be seen from the study of the text. The other two are placed by P. PARIS at about 1250 and certainly show a somewhat older form of the language than No. 24,368; the rule of the *s*, for instance, is better preserved and some of the verbal flexions are older. The best, as well as the longest, is No. 860, a very beautiful and valuable MS. which contains also, according to FAURIEL, the best text of the poem of 'Gaidon' and of 'Amis et Amile.'

The MSS. 859 and 24,368 resemble each other pretty closely and could be collated. They contain, each, about 23,000 verses. No. 860 has between four and five thousand verses more than either of these two and is an interesting example of the "watering" process by which a 'Geste' could be and was indefinitely prolonged. Episodes are introduced, or those already existing are developed and dilated upon. An interesting example of this may be seen in the first selection which follows from this MS. (860) and which may be compared with the extract previously mentioned in BARTSCH and HORNING'S 'La Langue et la Littérature françaises,' p. 131, which narrates the same incidents. In spite, however, of these intercalations and developments, the general march of events in the three MSS. is the same, as is also the dénouement. In the event of publication, it is MS. No. 860 which should form the basis for work on account both of its reliability and its completeness. Quite a number of additions to the old French vocabulary would be obtained as the result of a careful editing.

'Auberi le Bonrgoing,' like the better known 'Girard de Roussillon' and others of the same class, belongs to the great division of Old French epic poetry known as the Feudal epic, the one, that is, which recounts either the long struggles of the barons against royalty which filled the ninth and tenth centuries, or the interminable wars which obtained between the barons themselves. 'Auberi' belongs to the latter class and is an excellent specimen in character at least, though certainly not in historical accuracy. Like 'Girard de Roussillon,' too, it is Burgundian; at least in subject. But the principal one of the poems on 'Girard' is written in a dialect between French and Provençal while our monument is in the Île de France, or Champagne idiom. As far as its origins are concerned, it may certainly be classed among the older *chansons* like the 'Roland,' 'Renaud de Montauban,' 'Guillaume au court nez (or d'Orange),'

the 'Girard' already mentioned and others. PEPIN LE BREF (752-768) frequently appears in the second branch of our 'Geste' and the general character of the events recounted, whether real or imagined, are in harmony with the condition of things in these early centuries. FAURIEL indeed considers it "probablement de très ancienne origine germanique. Peut-être remonte-il jusqu'aux premiers temps de l'établissement des Burgundes sur les deux rives du Rhin." (V. 'Hist. litt. de la France, xxiii,' p. 318.) It would probably now be impossible to disentangle the history from the romance. Whatever historical basis (and there was of course one) the events recounted may once have had, has been overwhelmed in our MSS., and doubtless long before, by purely fanciful and fictitious developments; the "chronicle" element, both in regard to facts and the order of their arrangement, has been entirely outweighed by the romantic, and lost. The confusion of epochs, persons, and localities to which we are so accustomed in literature of this character and period is as prominent as usual. The eighth, ninth and tenth centuries are hopelessly confounded and it would appear that the thirteenth century listeners were entirely cognizant of the fact; for, in a number of passages, our author finds it necessary to insist strenuously upon his own correctness and veracity. This indeed was already the case in the twelfth century, as may be seen from the following quotations taken from the "Prologue de la Chronique de Turpin," (v. PAULIN PARIS, 'MSS. français de la Bibliothèque du Roi,' i, 212: "nus contes rimés n'est vrais: tot est mensonge ça qu'il en dient: car il n'en savent riens fors quant par oïr dire." A striking criticism from an age so uncritical as the twelfth century.

It is of course not possible to establish any date for the composition of our poem. The earliest MS. we have is, as already stated, of about 1250 and, after allowing for the long period of floating instability through which all the early *chansons* passed, we may presume that our 'Geste' took on something like its present form in the twelfth, perhaps even at the end of the eleventh century. The author, as usual, is hopelessly unknown, although PAULIN PARIS suggests the possibility of one of the adaptors having been BERTRAND DE BAR-SUR-AUBE. It is not improbable, however, that he may have been a *clerc* as he shows always a keen sympathy with the church and with ecclesiastical and spiritual matters generally. The 'Geste,' unlike many of its fellows, was never written in prose.

We have seen that the historical importance of our poem, at least as a chronicle of events, is almost nil, nor as a story has it much sequence. It is rather a long series of adventures through which Auberi, the hero, is carried. Some of these adventures appear indeed to be duplicated, as for instance the two occasions upon which Auberi and Gasselin are represented as residing in Bavaria. Auberi has been wronged by his relatives and is compelled to seek redress and fortune as best he may. His strong arm and ever ready sword carry him successfully through many adventures the scenes of which are laid in Burgundy, Flanders, Bavaria, and Paris. Blood flows freely. He is swift to avenge his wrongs and sullied by many crimes yet not vindictive or cruel. Episodes of all kinds: warlike, amorous, political, domestic, are successively presented and in all Auberi appears essentially the same daring, reckless, volatile, character. Ready at any moment to draw the sword whether for vengeance or attack, he is as ready to yield to the first suggestion of indulgence, or pleasure, of any and every kind. After years of wandering and fighting he, accompanied by his faithful kinsman Gasselin, rides the land of Orri, King of Bavaria, of its invaders, and, on the death of the king, receives as a reward the hand of his widow Guiborc, represented as the sister of Charles Martel. Many further adventures follow in which Auberi remains always the same character, not in any way different from what he was in his youth, and at last in a passage of considerable power he suffers a bloody death under most tragic circumstances. He may, in many respects at least, be fairly enough considered a fair type of the average mediæval baron and in this fact his main interest for us lies. He is the most clearly defined character in the 'Geste' and we feel that we have at least some acquaintance with him. The others are shadowy. Gasselin, the constant companion of Auberi; Orri, King of Bavaria; Guiborc, his wife and widow; the two sons of Orri who fall the victims of Auberi's revenge; the countess of Flanders, one of Auberi's mistresses, all play important rôles in the long series of adventures, but all appear as dim and shadowy outlines merely, and fail entirely to impress their personality upon us; in this respect, of course, only resembling the great majority of mediæval literary characters. Senneheut, the daughter of Guiborc, stands out for a moment more prominently and enlists our sympathies by an act of maidenly independence in refusing the hand of Gasselin whom her new father-in-law,

Auberi, had selected for her, but a violent blow from Auberi recalls her to a sense of dependence and she once more becomes a shadow. Lambert, next to Auberi the most prominent character in the second branch, has somewhat more personality. He is presented as a robber baron and serves as a type, though a different one from Auberi. He, too, is brave, daring, violent, but more essentially wicked, and relies more upon craft and cunning. The descriptions involved in presenting him and his surroundings are really interesting and typical. See, for instance, the description of his gloomy and impregnable castle printed herewith. (No. II, p. 77).

It is, however, as a picture of mediæval life and society that the 'Geste' possesses its main interest. The life of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, feudalism with all its varied developments, lie vividly before us. The petty wars eternally waging between the barons with but a feeble recognition of royal authority, the constant strife of factions, the marauding expeditions of the robber baron preying upon the surrounding country, these things form prominent features throughout the poem. The remarkable mediæval contradictions between faith and life are strongly brought out. Revolting brutality goes hand in hand with the most unquestioning piety, and this not only in different individuals but actually in the same. Violence goes side by side with superstition, utter recklessness of action with the most unswerving religious faith, an intense and child-like veneration for the church and its institutions with the most reckless disregard of its behests. The strongly-marked mediæval idea, born of the teaching of the church, as to the nearness of God to punish the evil and recompense the good, though constantly belied by the events of the poem, is consistently adhered to and poetical justice is eventually meted out to some at least. The singular inconsistency by which the assistance and coöperation of God and the saints are invoked in order to carry out deeds of blood and cruelty, is frequently illustrated. The sins and wrongs committed are those we should expect from childhood and ignorance, namely—sins and wrongs resulting from thoughtlessness, recklessness, passionateness, and want of self-restraint. The men are the active agents almost always; the women are passive and seem better than the men, although unfortunately far too shadowy to leave any very clear impression. The characters are limited in number and almost all of the same class, the noble; the only exceptions being an occa-

sional priest or hermit. The people are hardly even mentioned. We know indeed that they are there, for they are fighting the battles of their lords, are being plundered and are dying in droves. Except for these purposes, however, they hardly appear to exist. Literature scarcely as yet deigns to take cognizance of them, least of all the *Chansons de Gestes*, so essentially aristocratic in their character. Frequent allusions and remarks in the poem give us a kind of acquaintance with the poet and his audience. We see that in some of its phases at least the poem was sung, for allusions to singing occur frequently, and Lanbers, in a passage of considerable interest, sings ("*fabloier et chanter*") the story of the good king Clovis, of Floovent and the vassal Richier. The author insists upon his veracity and trustworthiness and the assurance seems to have been necessary, for it is repeated more than once. In order to call attention to his verses he assures his listeners that he is not presenting them with the original. In order to coerce attention, he threatens them with never finishing, or tells them that a particularly interesting passage is now about to follow. He endeavors by various devices to excite the sympathy of his audience, now endeavoring to stir them up, now calming them. All these things would appear to be traces of an earlier phase of the *chanson* when it was more strictly popular in character and before it had reached the extremely developed stage in which we now have it.

As far as the purely literary aspects of our poem are concerned, it would not be fair to claim a more than usual amount of merit for it. The inevitable mediæval characteristics: diffuseness, verbosity, stérotypedness, and the commonplace are of course there, nor could it well be otherwise in poems of twenty-three and twenty-eight thousand lines covering so small a range of subjects. The process of dilution has evidently again and again been repeated as some of the accompanying extracts will show. The usual stock expressions occur with the customary profusion; in a word, that *banalité* which characterizes so much Old French Literature is not less marked here than elsewhere. Happily, however, the poem is occasionally redeemed by passages of real interest, even of power. Those describing the castle and surroundings of Lambert, and the assassination of Auberi have already been referred to. Others are the scene with the necromancer, the interview between Guiborc and Auberi and later that between Senneheut and Auberi.

As to the extracts, hitherto unpublished, which follow, No. i from MS. 860, may be compared with BARTSCH and HORNING, 'La Langue et la Littérature françaises,' p. 131, to illustrate what has been referred to above. No. ii is the description of the castle and surroundings of Lanbers, also referred to. Nos. iii and iv are from different MSS., respectively 24, 368 and 860, and illustrate the process of dilution by means of which the same 'Geste' may appear in one version as a poem of twenty-seven, or more, thousand lines, while in another it is limited to twenty-two odd thousand. In the two extracts here presented, the second contains sixty-two lines and the first forty-eight only, yet the events recounted are substantially, indeed identically the same, the difference in the amount of the text being made up by development and extension of detail.

I.

MS. 860, Fonds français. Folio 206 b.

Au mengier sistrent li baron el chastel :
la veissiez maint riche danmoisel,
qui tient toaille ou doublier ou coutel.
vin clare i vont a grant revel.
Lanbers apelle un sien prive donzel :
" va si m'apporte dou vin dou grant tonnel,
a mon seignor en donrai plain boucel."
icil i vait et moult le fist isnel.
Lanbers en jure le cors Saint Daniel,
se li Borgoins ne li fait son avel
de Seneheut qui tant a le cors bel,
qu'il li metra l'espee enz au cervel.

Lanbers fu plains de mauvais enschiant ;
Auberi mainne par engingnement grant.
s'il le puet faire ainsiz com il l'en prant,
Auberi fera son cuer morne et dolant.
se ne li donne Seneheut la vaillant,
ne verra mais ne fame ne parant,
ne la roïne Guiborc o le cors jant.
or le gart dex de mort et de torment.
au mengier sistrent li baron richement :
li escanson portent le vin souvent
a Auberi qui garde ne s'em prent.
Lanbers le veult enivrer voirement.
quant il li menbre de son riche present
des coupes d'or et des hannaps d'argent,
damneledeu jure cui tous li mons apent,
se il l'a si tout donne por noient,
dont l'a il bien despendu folement,

qu'a Seneheut ses coraiges li tent,
 que trop la vit de bel contenment.
 et si seit bien Lanbers a enscient,
 ja Seneheut n'aura a son talent
 se Auberis li Borgoins ne li rent.
 il en jura le baron saint Vincent,
 se li Borgoins ne li a en couvent,
 ja dou chastel n'istra mais son vivant.

De Seneheut prinst Lanbert a membrer,
 se il ne l'a, n'en porra eschaper.
 dou Borgoingnon ne seit comment ouvrer,
 car en tel lieu l'avoit fait enserrer,
 se par lui n'est n'en puet mais eschaper.
 or li dira coiememt et souef,
 se il li weult sa fillastre donner,
 il l'en laira et sain et sauf raler;
 et s'il nel puet on Borgoingnon trouver,
 il li fera le chief dou bus sevrer.
 ja en Bavijere mais n'en porra raler.
 li Borgoingnons le prinst a resgarder;
 souvent li voit le vis descoulorer;
 d'eures en autres li voit coulour muer.
 cortoisement l'en prinst a apeller:
 "sir couzins, nel me devez celer.
 qui vos a fait ainsiz desconforter?
 tant que je vive ne vous estuet douter,
 n'a home en terre qui vous osast grever,
 nes a Pepin sil vous voloit pener,
 por vostre amor me voldroit mesler."
 Lanbers respont, qui bien sot trestorner:
 "sire couzins, ainz voil deu aourer,
 quant vous deingnastez onques ceinz entrer,
 et quant vous puis serviv et honorer,
 se vous voliez a mon talent ouvrer,
 je vous feroie quant qu' ozeriez panser.
 se vous nel faitez moi l'estuet consirrer."
 a ces paroles fait le vin demander,
 a val la table mult richement porter.
 aprez mengier font les napes oster.
 Lanbers a fait la sale delivrer,
 et les barons a lor ostex raler.
 ceuls qui soloient o le duc converser,
 fist un et un a lor osteuls aler.
 panre les rueve et en prison mener
 a ses serjans que fist apres aler.
 cil ne si sorent de traison garder.
 Lanbers les fait en buies enserrer;
 comment qu'il voille vers Auberi ouvrer,
 que cil nel puissent de noient encombrer.
 ainsiz l'ont fait nel voldrent refuser.

la gent le duc ont fait ainsiz mener,
 car li traitres lor sot bien deviser.
 dont fait Lanbers son grant palais fermer.
 voit Auberi se'l prant a apeller:
 "couzin, dist il, je voil a vous parler.
 je vous voldrai mon afaire monstrier,
 car mult me doi en vostre cors fier.
 li uns ne doit envirs l'autre fausser."
 a dont l'enmainne sans plus de demorer.
 en une chanbre fait Auberi entrer.
 IIII en trespasse, ainz ni volt arrester.
 en la quinte entre, la le fist demorer.
 iluec or fait un grant feu alumer;
 li chandelabre j reluisoient cler,
 et cil se painne de lui mult honorer.
 d'un autre vin li a fait apporter.
 "buvez couzin, cist est bons a verser,
 cist vous fera de dormir saouler."
 s'ainsnee niece fait Lanbers apeller,
 et celle i vient qui ne l'ose veer.
 il n'a si bele enfresci qu'a la mer.
 et dist Lanbers: "Auberi, gentiz ber,
 voiez, biax, sire com ceste a le vis cler;
 je la vous voil anque nuit presenter,
 se la volez par de vers voz torner.
 de vostre bon n'estera refuser,
 bieu vous saura servir et tastonner.
 en vostre cuer poez bien porpenser
 de la roine Guiborc o le vis cler.
 ce fu folie couzin de l'esponser,
 que ses II. fiuls li feiz affoler.
 cuidez tu ores qu'elle te doie amer?
 I. des ces jors vous fera enherber,
 s'elle en a aise ge'l vous di sans fausser.
 et a sa fille veuls ton neveu donner.
 trop te veuls ores au lynгнаige meller;
 il te feront de la terre gieter.
 c'est une chose dont mult vous doit peser.
 je nel lairoie souffrir ne endurer."
 Auberis l'oit, le sens cujde desver.
 toute la chars li commence a tranbler,
 de mautalent commence a tressuer.
 dist Auberis sans plus de demorer:
 "foi que ie doi a touz homes porter,
 sè ne laissez la roinne a blasmer
 et moi et vos convenra mesler."
 quant Lanbers l'oit si saigement parler
 or seit il bien que plus l'estuet mener.
 a mort se tient s'il nel puet enyvrer.

Lanbers se painne d'Auberi engingnier.
 Souvent li donne de son vin le plus cher.
 li dus en boit qui ne si sot gaitier,
 et cil Lanbers le prinst a arraisnier:
 "sire cousin, mult faitez a prisier;
 or chanterai por voz esbannoier.
 je sai de geste les chansons commencier
 que nus jongleres ne m'en puet engingnier.
 je sai assez dou bon Roi Cloevjer,
 de Floevent et dou vassai Richier.
 dirai vus ent volentiers sans trichier."
 dont commensa Lambers a flabloier,
 et a chanter hautement sanz dongier.
 a chascun vers li fait le vin baillier.
 d'eures en antres le prent a arraisnier.
 "sire Auberi, mentir ne vus enquier;
 ne me sai plus vers vus humelier,
 que mes 11. nieces auez vus au couchier.
 serviront vus com seignor droiturier.
 bien seit Lanbers Auberi engingnier.
 les 11. pucelles le servent sanz dongier,
 si li commencent le dos a mannoier,
 et le tastonnent et devaut et derrier.
 ainz Auberis tant ne si sot gaitier,
 que li traitres nel feist forvoier.

"Sire couzin, dist li fel de put lin,
 or vus ferai apporter d'autre vin.
 il n'a si bon jusqu'a li ave dou Rin.
 je n'en donnaïsse a parent n'a couzin,
 se ce ne fust mon droit seignor Pepin."
 venir en fait tout plain 1. mazerin.
 Auberis but qui ni quist point d'engin.
 a dont tint il Lanbert por son couzin.
 a la pucelle an coraige enterin,
 tent li Borgoins le plain hannap de vin.
 Elle le prent se li a fait enclin.
 Quant dou bou vin que vus m'oez conter,
 fait dus Lanbers Auberi enyvrer,
 souz ciel n'a home qui s'en poist garder,
 dont fait Lanbers la chanbre deffermer.
 en 1. biau lieu afait 1. lit parer.
 le Borgoingnon j fait tantost mener.
 por reposer si couche Auberis li ber.
 li dus s'en dort ileue sanz demorer.
 Lanbers li vait sa bonne espee oster.
 toutes ses armes fait don palais enbler,
 et ses 11. nieces em prinst a apeller.
 "pansez hui mais d'Auberj tastonner,
 càr ainz lè jor del l'estevra parler."

oit le l' ainsnee si commence a plorer,
 car bien connoist de Lanbert le panser.
 "sire, dist elle, por deu nel vergonder.

.....
 tel traison qui porroit endurer?
 ja le vi ie ensamble o vus souper.
 tes ostes est si ne le dois grever,
 et tes amis si le dois mult amer.
 s'or en ooit li Rois Pepin parler
 il vus feroit tout cest pais gaster,
 et Oridon abatre et violer;
 que sa suer est Gujbors o le vis cler."
 oit la Lanbers, le san cuide desver.
 dou poing la fiert bien l'an sot assener,
 qu'il en fist le vermoil sanc voler.
 "garce, dist il, bien savez ranposner.
 se ie hui mais vus en oi mot sonner
 je vus ferai anz ij, les iex crever."
 volsist ou non la fait an duc aler,
 et la plus josne i fait Lanbers aler.
 de joustes luj s'alerent acouder.
 si le commencent mult bel a tastonner.
 li dus se dort qui mal ni sot panser.
 et cil Lambers ne si volt oublier,
 ainz fait la chanbellain sor euls iij. bien fermer.
 son chanbellain emprinst a apeller.

Lanbers apelle son chanbellain Foucher.
 "faï moi venir Herchenbaut et Renier,
 Giron le preu et le conte Gautier,
 et X des autres qui mult sont a prisier."
 cil les amaine qui ne l'osa laissier.
 Lanbers les voit ses prent a arraisnier.
 "Baron, dist il, savez moi conseillier.
 quant qu'en Baivjere me veistez chercher,
 le mien despendre et mon tresor wisder,
 ciert por la fille Roi Oulri le Baivjer,
 qui est fillastre Auberi le guerrier,
 avoir la voil a per et a moillier.
 se Auberis ne le veult otroier
 ji li ferai tous les membres trancher.
 or m'en aidiez nobile chevalier.
 ja contre vus mais ne tenrai denier."
 quant cil l'oïrent n'ot en euls qu'a irier.
 "Sire, font il, weuls te tu enraigier?
 or le veismez ensamble o vus mengier.
 tex traisons ne fait a atroier.
 de tel afaire ne vus devons aidier.
 trop laidement le volez engingnier.
 sel seit Pepin fera vos escillier."
 Lanbers l'entent, le sens cuide changier.

en sa main tint 1. baston de pomier.
 par mautalent va ferir le premier,
 qu'il li fait la teste roujoier.
 "fil a putain, dist Lanbers pautonnier,
 au mien despendre n'iestez vus pas lasnier,
 mais ansoiz iestez esrant et presantier.
 mais par la foi que ie doi deu dou ciel,
 jamais dou mien ne panrez 1. mengier.
 le matinnet vus metez au frapier."
 quant cil l'entendent ni ot que esmaier.
 dont se commencent mult a amoloier.
 "sire, font il, laissez votre tancier,
 que tons vos bons ferons sang delaier."
 Lanbers les oit vers lui humelijer.
 dont les mercie et plus les va baisier.
 dex penst dou duc qui tout puet justicier!
 car en tel lieu est venus harbergier,
 se dex n'en panse, quil comperra-mult cher.

Lanbers s'apreste sanz nulle demoree.
 chascons des suens a la broigne andossee,
 liaume lacie et au costel l'espee.
 l'uns tient juzarme, l'autres hache aceree.
 bien sanblent gent de mal faire apretee.
 ainz por 1. home ne fu tez assanblee.
 Lanbers lor a la chanbre deffermee.
 cil entrent eng a mult tres grant huee.
 li Borgoins dort en la chanbre pavee,
 si com li hom qui n'ot nulle pansee
 qu' on li eust traison porparlee.
 et Lanbers tint une lance aceree.
 descil au lit ni ot fait arreste.
 le duc resgarde a la chiere menbree.
 de l'arrestueil tele li a donnee,
 pres ne li a la poitrine effondree.
 li dus s'esveille s'a la chiere levee,
 et voit la gent entor luj avnée.
 de la paor li est la chars tranblee.
 seignor baron! cest veritez puree (?),
 que mult est mors cremue et redoutée.
 sa maisnie a et sa gent regretee.
 "sainte marie, roinne coronnee!
 qui me donna ores si grant colee?"
 et dist Lanbers: "ni a mestier celee:
 m'ainsnee niece avez vos violee;
 ne poiez iestre de celi saoulee,
 se n'aviez l'autres ansiz despucelee."
 dist Auberis: "je lai ja comparee."
 la moie foit vus soit ore affiee,
 qu'ongues par moi n'en fu une adesse,

ne par mon cors en nule san vergondee."
 et dist Lambers : "querele l' avez trouvee
 vo lecherie ne pot iestre ainz finée."

Or fu li dus a malaise forment,
 et les pucelles en plovent tenrement.
 li Borgoignons a mult le cuer dolent.
 or voit Lanbert se li dist simplement :
 "sire couzins, por deu omnipotent,
 ne me menez ainsiz vilainement.
 la moie foi vus plevis loiaument,
 qu' onques a elles n'en oi habitement."
 et dist Lanbers : "or oiez com il ment,
 et com il a cel cuer faus et puant."
 l'espie paumoie, lance' luj roidement
 les le costel li conduist vivament :

li fers j froie mais nel toucha noient.
 quant Auberis le fer de l'espie sent,
 n'est pas merveille se grans paors l'en prent.
 il li escrie a sa vois hautement :

"merci Lanbert, j'ai en toi mau parent.
 J'ai m'en aler arriere cujtement.
 ji te randrai ton or et ton argent."

et dist Lambers : "par deu omnipotent,
 ou vus ferez trestout le mien talent,
 on ie panrai de vus tel vengeance
 dont aurout honte trestuit vostre parent."
 Auberis l'oït, s'en a grant mautalent.
 "Dex ! dist il, peres par ton commandement,
 garis mon cors de mort et de torment,
 qu'a Otesin puisse aler sauvement,
 a ma moillier qui iluecques m'atent !"

En Borgoignon n'en ot que esmaier,
 car il n'a armes dont il se puisse aider.
 ne il ne s'ose en son estant drescier.
 enverz Lanbert se laist jus abaissier.
 "merci couzin, par deu le droiturier.
 vus m'amenastez avec vus harbergier.
 se vus savez sor moi riens chalongier,
 vez moi tout prest de mon cors esporgier,
 tout cors a cors encontre i. chevalier,
 on contre i. se on l'ose jugier."
 et dist Lambers : "ce ne vault un denier.
 e ne feroie riens por vostre proier,
 lonc le service vus randrai le loier."
 lors rancommence l'espie a paumoier.
 voit le Auberis, ni ot que esmaier.

en crois se giete devant lui el planchier :
 "merci couzins ! se tu weuls si me fier."
 et Lanbers tint le roit espie d'acier.

par tel oir li commence a lancer.
 jussqu'au planchier fait le fer envoier,
 mais nel volt mie afoler ne touchier.
 or ot paor Auberis li guerriers.
 ainz puis celle hore qu'on l'ot fait chevalier
 tel paor n'ot, bien le puis affichier.
 "dex! dist il, peres qui le mont dois jugier;
 a tant franc homme ai fait son cuer irier;
 des maus qu'ai fais atenz ci le loier.
 mais dex de gloire m'en puet bien respitier.
 he! Guiborc danme, dex vus gart dencombrier"

Mult ot Lanbers le cuer desmesure.
 ses homes clunjgne (cligne ?) a tant s'en sont torne.
 Auberi voit auques espoante.
 n'ot que ses braies si tijuel desnoe.
 par III. fois li a l'espie crosle.
 les dens reschingne, sanblant fait de desve,
 les iex roeille par mult ruiste fierte.
 on voit le duc si l'a arraisonne.
 "par foi Borgoins, vus avez tout ale,
 car vus avez maint prudon ahonte.
 de mainte danme avez fait vostre gre;
 hui en cest jor vus iert gueredonne."
 dont lor seignor ont eugrant vilte.
 quant qu'avez fait en trestout vostre ae,
 l'espie li froie par delez le costel.
 li dus guenchist, son cors a trestorne.
 "merci! li crie, por sainte charite."
 li chevalier emplorent de pite.

La gent Lambert plorent por Auberi,
 lor seignor toillent le roit espie forbi.
 "sire, font il, por amor deu merci,
 qui tout le mont a son oes establi."
 et dist Lanbers: "or m'avez maubailli,
 qui le Borgoing m'avez tolu ainsiz.
 deceu m'a que ie le sai de fi.
 des mes II. nieces vergonde et honi.
 je n'el cuidaisse, foi que dois S. Remi,
 qui li donnast tout le tressor Davi,
 que il deust si ouvrer envers mi.
 mais s'il le weult acorder envers mi,
 doist me i. avoir que jai mult encouvi.
 se ie ne l'ai n'em partira deci."
 Auberis l'oit. de joie tressailli.
 "sire Lambert, ie vus ai bien oi.
 Volez vus dont mon desrier arrabi?
 ne faites nie dongier por i. ronci.
 la male foudre l'eust ansoiz brui,"
 "n est pas ice," Lanbers li respondi.

"autre avoir ai en vostre cort choisi.
 en ton ostel as tel oisel norri
 escharnis iez se il ni pert son nif."
 "quax chose est ce, sire," dist Auberis.
 Lanbers respont, pas ne si alenti:
 "ce est le fille au riche Roi Oulri.
 donner li weuls Gasceliu a mari.
 donne la moi, si remanrons ami.
 ou se ce non n'eschaperaz de ci."
 oit le li dus, a poi n'enraige vis.
 puis dist en bas que nus ne l'entendí:
 "Gascelin nie; dont vus ai ie trai.
 a si grant painne touz jors m'avez servi,
 hui vus fera mult malement meri.
 Senehent bele! com mar onques vus vi,
 se ie vus toil Gascelin vostre ami.
 he! Guiborc danme, com mar vus en merci,
 dou traitor quant ne vus en crei."
 a icest mot si forment s'esbahi,
 par un petit li cuers ne li rompi.
 en haut parole a loi d'omome hardi:
 "par deu, Lambert, ce ne vault r. espi.
 ja ne l'aurez se tu wenls si m'ocis."
 et dist Lanbers: "par mon chief ie l'otri."
 a dont reprant le brant d'acier forbi,
 ja l'eust mort quant on li recoilli.

II.

MS. 860. Fonds français, Folio 202 or 69 of Geste. Being the opening of the second branch of the Geste, and describing the castle, etc., of Lambert.

Or vus dirai d'une bonne chanson,
 com Auberis fu menez a Bricon
 par r. vaßsal qui Lanbers ot a non.
 fiuls fu Thiebaut, le plus maistre larron
 qui ainz emblast vaillant r. esporon.
 ou bois d'Ardenne ot un recet felon
 entre r. eues dont ie sai bien les nons:
 ce est Samois, et l'autre a non Folon.
 en Mueze chient de merveillouz randon,
 la ou assanblent demainent tel tanson
 q'il n'i vait ne nef ne aviron.
 nus hom ni passe ne a gue ne a pont.
 et li borjois mainent en quarreingnon
 enz en une isle de la roche Sanson.
 xxxm sont, chascuns an sa maison.
 par r. chaucies lor vient la garisons.
 bien sont fondees de chaus et de sablon.
 A seulement le giet a r. baston,

fu li chastiax et la tors environ.
 bien fu assise par grant devisioun,
 de nulle part habiter ni puet on,
 fors d'une part si comme nus cuidons.
 la est l'anree, et, et par la j va on.
 pont torneiz et barre a quarreillon,
 Selve j ot vielle des le tans Salemon.
 bien fu garnie de riche venoison.
 les la rivjere sont creu li fres jon,
 et l'erbe drue que coillent li garson.
 li marois sont entor et environ,
 et li fosse qui forment sunt par font.
 li mur de maubre de chaus et de sablon,
 et les tornelles ou mainnent li baron,
 et li vivjer ou furent li poisson.
 si fort chastel ne vit onques nus hom.
 la dedens ot sa sale et so donjon,
 et sa chapelle par devant sa maison.
 qui la ienz est, bien est a garison.
 Lanbers la tient que n'en sert se luj non.
 oi avez dou chastel la fason,
 or vus dirai dont Lanbers fu larrons,
 de grans tressors que orent li baron.
 il n'iere mie seuls ne sanz compaignon.
 maint home a mis a grant destruction,
 et mainte dame tolue a son baron.
 qui l'enmenoit avec luj en person,
 il en prenoit si dure raenson,
 qu'il le metoit a grant destruction.
 mult se doit on de Lambert merveillier,
 qui III. tans savoit de son mestier
 que li siens pere qui mult ot avoir chier.
 les lointains regnes faisoit querre et cherchier,
 et en septembre viennent li messaigier
 j cil qui vout les tressors espier.
 et il y va en yver sans targier.
 mais ne va mie touz seuls a cel mestier,
 que avec lui enmainne maint murtrier.
 ccccc enmainne, ni a cel n'ait destrier.
 et haubers ont, et bons elmes d'acier,
 espees ceintes, escus poins a ormier,
 et lances roides, et gonfanons mult chers,
 espies tranchans qui font a resoingnier.
 et apres ceuls reviennent li archier,
 et li serjant et li aubelestrier,
 qu'il fait es mons et es vauls enbuschier;
 qui sont tost fors quant il en a mestier.
 il va avant soi tierz por pesoier.
 ne doute pierre, o chaus, ne o mortier

qu'il ne face par devant luj percier,
 et les escrins et huges pesoier,
 puis que se puet dedens l'ostel fichier.
 et tex le sieult, mieus li venroit laissier,
 qu'il l'enmainne avec soi prisonnier.
 et si le fait en prison trebuchier,
 sel fait raieubre jusqu' a un seul dernier.
 et si n'est mie tant povres ne lasniers
 que L. homme ne'l servent au mengier,
 fil de barons, qui tuit sont chevalier,
 trestouz li pires a grant terre a baillier,
 et il les fait mult bien appareillier
 de riches armes, de pailles de quartier.
 et mult les fait richement haubergier.
 les elmes fait richement vernissier,
 et les escus par guises entaillier,
 et les haubers par mailles roujoier.
 ne vus devez pas de ce merveillier,
 qu'il est dus, grant terre a a baillier.
 trestoute Ardenne avoit a justicier.
 autres n'en tint la monte d'un denier.
 il n'a voisin qui sost a lui corcier,
 qu'il ne voille isnellement plaisier,
 dou tout en tout honnir et vergoingnier.
 n'a son chastel ne puet nus approchier,
 se il n'i entre par le maistre portier.
 il n'a si fort descì a Montpellier,
 ne n'ot si riche cuens, ne dus, ne princiers.
 ez vus i mes qui li vint de Baiviers,
 si atorne com autres pautonniers.
 onques li glouz ne se volt atargier,
 ne son bordon ne sa paume laissier.
 ansoiz s'en va a Lambert conseillier.
 a une part s'en vait enz au vergier.
 Arreste soi deu coste le princier.

Li pautonniers tint Lanbert par la main,
 et sont ale en i lieu d'erbe plain,
 les i roisier ou la flors naist au main.
 cil l'arraisonne, qui n'ot pas le cuir vain :
 "j'ai esre, sire, et par bois et par plain,
 par vostre amor, mais ne l'ai fait en vain ;
 et si vus ai auques fait vostre plain,
 j'ai espie tel gaing, par St. Germain,
 vostres tressors ne vault a ce i pain.
 en Bavijere est, qui n'est mie trop loing.
 une meschine ja, cui ie mult plaing,
 i. lecheor a mis a son reclaim."
 et dist Lanber : "cui chaut ja de putain ?"
 dist li traitres : "non est par St. German.

encores n'a manmelete en son sain.
 par sa biaute porroit iestre nonnain.
 niece est Pepin, de ce soiez certains,
 et fille Oulri, be bon roi sonverain.
 sor toutes danmes a le cors souverain.
 li siens amis ne sanble pas vilains.
 c'est Grascelins, qui mult par est certains,
 qui en Borgoingne ira hui ou demain.
 toute la terre doit resoivre en sa main.

III.

MSS. 24,368. Fonds Français, Folio 29d. line 40.

Au mengier sist li dus et si baron.
 de la viande orent il a foison,
 et si n'en sorent nul gre au duc Oedon.
 Guiborc apele le bon duc de Digon.
 "Sire, dist elle, et car nous esloitions.
 vers Ostelin s'en vait a esperon.
 celui nont mie gaste li esclavon."
 "dame, dist il, hui matin nous mouvrons."
 la nuit seiornent en la sainte maison.
 ni orent cote lincheul ne siglaton.
 a lor chief font li hauberc fremillon.
 et li bon clers qui Amaurris ot non,
 qui nies estoit Auberi de Digon,
 de la roine sot taute la cheison,
 qu'elle doit prendre Auberi a baron.
 1. poi pensa Amaurris a baron,
 qu'en peu de terme mauves conseil prent on;
 et s'elle vient ariere en son roion,
 a Ostesin en son mestre donion,
 conseil aura de maint gente facon.
 tost fausseroit vers le duc sa raison.
 mes il puet dire par droit et par resson,
 qu'en la chapele ou maint li saintism hom,
 fust empensee sel sembleroit bon.
 lors ni avoit garde se de lui non.
 son oncle apele, le gentil bourgignon.
 tout souavet l'en a mis a resson.
 toute l'affaire li conta de randon.
 "par mon cief niez," dist li dus de Digon,
 "cist conseus est sans point de traison,
 et ge feroi qui qu'en poist ne qui non,"
 li bourgignon oi le clerc parler,
 qui le conseille de la dame esposer.
 "biaus niez, dist elle, ientil estes et ber.

 je le feroi sans plus de demorer."
 la france dame emprent a apeler:
 "Guibourc roine, mult me debes amer."

"si fes ie sire," dist la dame au vis cler.
 et dist li dus: "chi nous voel espouser,
 se le voulez otroier et greer."
 et dis li dus: "bien le doi creanter,
 vostre vouloir ne doi pas refuser."
 Auberi l'ot ne si vout demorer.
 a la chapelle l'en a feite mener,
 ou li ermites dut la messe chanter,
 des armz deu s'estoit fet atorner
 ains puis qu'il vint en l'ermitaje ester.
 ne li fist on mes presse d'espouser.

The MS. then continues as in case of No. 860:—

Auberi a la dame espousee,
 et li ermite a la messe chantee, &c., &c.

IV.

MS. 860. Fonds français. Folio 178 a.

Au mengier sist li dus et si baron.
 de viande ont a tas et a foison,
 et si n'en sevent nul gre au duc Hoedon.
 la dame appelle Aubert de Dijon:
 "sire, dist elle, et car nus exploitons.
 vers Ostesin, sire, car en alonz.
 celi n'ont mie gastee esclavon.
 dist Aubert le matin j ironz.
 la nuit sejoignent en la sainte maison.
 ui orent coulte ne drap ne syglaton.
 a lor chief unt li hauberc fremeillon.
 au matinee s'aprestent li baron.
 et li bos ciers qui Amaurris a non,
 qui nies estoit Aubert de Dijon,
 de la roine sot toute l'achoisson;
 qu'elle doit panre Aubert le baron.
 1. petit panse Amaurris li frans hom,
 qu'en poi de terme mauvais conseil prent on;
 et s'elle vient arriere en son roion,
 a Ostesin en son maistre donjon,
 conseil aura de maint chevalier bon.
 tost fausseront vers le duc sa raison.
 mais se puet faire par dit ne par sermon
 qu'a la chapelle l'espousast li frans hom,
 feist ses noces. il li sambleroit bon,
 puis qu'elle auroit espouse le baron,
 il ni auroit se de li garde non.
 il en appelle Aubert de Dijon.
 tout soavet li conta sa raison.
 "par mon chief nies," respont li Borgoingnons,
 "ce est mult bon et tout sans traison,

et gel ferai sans point d'arrestison."

Li Borgoingnons oj le clerc parler,
qui le conseille de la dame espouser.

"biax nies, dist il, mult faites a loer,
et gel ferai sans point de demorer."

la franche dame en prenst a appeller :

"Guilborc roine, mult faites a amer.

je vus voil dame ci aluec esposer,

se le volez otroier et graer."

et dist la dame : "bien le doi creanter.

vostre conseil ne doi ie refuser."

Auberis l'oït, plus ne volt demorer.

a la chapelle la tost faites mener,

ou li hermites doit sa messe chanter.

des armes deu s'est tost fais acesmer,

ainz puis qu'il vint au l'ermitaige ester.

ne li fist nus presse mais d'espouser.

en la chapelle estoient li baron,

ou Auberis a receu le don

de la roine a la clere fason.

Gujbors appelle Gascelin le franc hom,

et Thyebelin qui mult estoit prudom,

li sains hermites fist la beneison.

"dame, dist il, volez le Borgoingnon?"

"oil, dist elle, par le cors saint Simon!"

puis appella Auberj par son non.

"volez Guiborc, frans chevaliers baron?"

dist Auberis : "oil, par saint Fagon!

mult a lonc tans que desirre l'avonz."

que vus feroie lonc plait ne lonc sermon,

la l'espousa li bons dus de Dijon.

The MS. then continues as in case of No. 24,368:—

Auberis a la roine espousee,

et li hermites a la messee chantee, &c., &c.

V.—*Some Points in the Study of English Prose Style.*

By HENRY E. SHEPHERD, LL. D.,

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I purpose in the present paper to direct attention to certain influences by whose action the character of our English prose style is being more or less affected. It will be apparent at a glance that I do not design an elaborate exposition of any one phase of our modern literary life, but simply a concise discussion of some of its aspects that have been impressed upon me during a varied and changeful career as teacher of English literature.

First of all, let me enter my protest against that *democratization* of our style, in which unworthy tendency American writers may fairly claim the precedence. There is a growing disregard of artistic grace and propriety among our scholarly oracles, and so deeply wrought is the affection, that university Professors of English literature will avow with a frankness which borders upon eagerness, their inability to discern the aesthetic power of a great stylist, and their incapacity to receive the faintest stimulus, or inspiration, from his golden periods. A prosy didacticism, a monotonous moralizing that approaches perilously near to cant, is a characteristic infirmity of some eminent instructors. Far be it from me to disparage the influence of art viewed from the moral stand-point; its power to educate and inform is one of its noblest functions. Yet this educative and informing power is in the ratio of the regard bestowed upon grace of form, harmony and symmetry. In America, literary form is in danger of being eclipsed by the dark wave of incoming democracy with its wonted disdain of all that is esoteric in purpose, or artistic in execution. I am aware that it is not impossible to exaggerate the value of literary form. This is admirably illustrated in one of BAGEHOT'S most suggestive essays, but this remote contingency is more than counteracted by the advance of neologism and barbarism, of syntactical license masquerading in the guise of liberty.

There is a class of writers who are prone to identify clearness with coarseness, and fail to distinguish between the academic vesture of the scholar's diction and the orthodox dialect of our "fierce democracie." Such literary degeneracy must be

encountered in all lands in which democracy has run riot, education is empirical, and the dream of BACON'S 'Novum Organum' is almost passed into fulfillment. A germ of disease may be always detected in language; the maturity of growth is the presage of decline, and there is probably no reason founded either in history or philosophy, why Euphuism or Marinism should be ascribed to foreign influences, though it may have been stimulated and intensified by corresponding, or kindred, affections in other languages. The amount of care bestowed upon the philological side of our speech may have aided in the obscuration of the art instinct. If we accept the current philological diction as a criterion, the conclusion seems indisputable. For the philologist, save MAX MÜLLER who is of German birth and training, has reversed the famous dictum and revealed his thoughts upon every thing *but* the expression. This, however, is but one element in the discussion and by no means accounts for all the phenomena with which we have to deal.

I am inclined to regard it as unfortunate that no critical study has been made of the style developed by the great school of novelists during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; I mean critical from the view-point of their impress upon the character of our prose. The movement towards facility and felicity of expression, has been essentially aided by such chiefs of romantic fiction as THACKERAY, BULWER and GEORGE MEREDITH. Within the last six months, there has appeared a novel whose religious teachings I deplore, but whose range of vocabulary and skill in delineation constitute it one of the epoch-making books of our language. Rare terms from the vocabulary of psychology are employed with graceful ease; for example, COLERIDGE'S *aloofness* and others drawn from the same recondite sources, perhaps never before popularized by the novelist. Scarcely less inviting are the dramatists of the Restoration—the forerunners and heralds of the novel of life and character. The plays of OTWAY, CONGREVE, and their contemporaries, are a stimulating study. It was largely through the agency of the drama that the stately form of classical English, the type of MILTON and TAYLOR, was gradually broken down. It might be more scientifically accurate to say that the preservation of the popular standard was, in a measure, due to the influence of the drama in the age of Elizabeth, as well as during the epoch of the Restoration,

Another field, by no means exhausted, is the development of

the letter-writing art in the English language. The Memoirs of the era of JAMES I and CHARLES I, the letters of CROMWELL, some of them strikingly modern in expression, the SIDNEY collections; EVELYN's voluminous correspondence; the letters of LADY MARY WORTLEY MONTAGU, and of POPE; those of THOMAS GRAY, GEORGE SELWYN and COWPER, are invaluable to the student of our prose style during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Each of these collections is worthy of a special and scientific scrutiny.

Another point to which I wish to direct the attention of my fellow-students, is the neglect, so prevalent in our schemes of instruction, of some of the noblest types of prose exhibited in the literature of this century. A conspicuous illustration is that of SIR JAMES STEPHEN, the contemporary of HALLAM, DE QUINCEY, and MACAULAY. No more chastened English has been produced in any age of our language than SIR JAMES's essays on 'Ignatius Loyola and His Associates,' 'Port Royal and the Port Royalists,' 'The Life and Times of Richard Baxter.' There is a grace and serenity that seems to rest upon the conscious foundation of majestic strength: if I were asked to characterize his style by an appropriate epithet, I should pronounce it the most gentlemanly I had ever met with. Yet SIR JAMES is not honored with a single selection in SAINTSBURY's 'English Prose,' nor is his existence referred to in GENUNG's 'Rhetoric,' one of our latest and most rational treatises on that subject.

If the scope of this paper rendered such a procedure legitimate, I should be glad to dwell upon the richness added to our contemporary English by such works as TENNYSON's 'Princess' and the 'Idyls of The King,' but they must be reserved for another occasion. The history of English prose is yet to be written. As one of those who are assured of the unity of that history, I submit the fragmentary thoughts expressed in this paper to the candid scrutiny of such as may have the ability and the disposition to carry on the task to a successful consummation.

VI.—*Italo-Keltisches.*

BY RICHARD OTTO, PH. D., MUNICH, BAVARIA.

Niemand kann sich verhehlen, dass noch manche Jahre vergehen werden, ehe man über die alte Streitfrage das letzte Wort sprechen kann, d. h. ehe man genau weiss, was wir an den von MACPHERSON hinterlassenen selbstgeschriebenen gaelischen Texten eigentlich haben. In Deutschland ist seit vielen Jahren das Interesse an diesen Fragen ein sehr geringes, man tröstet sich mit dem Buche des TALVJ, 'Die Unechtheit der Lieder OSSIANs,' ohne es mit kritischen Augen zu prüfen; in England dagegen lebt dank diesem Streitobjecte der alte Zwist zwischen Kelten und Sachsen noch fort.

Zwei Motive leiten uns bei der Abfassung dieses Aufsatzes: erstens die Überzeugung, dass eine genaue Fassung der Streitfrage wieder einmal nöthig ist, denn weitere Kreise wissen garnicht, wo eigentlich das Fragliche liegt, obwohl man seit 1810, oder noch früher, der Sache schon auf der Spur war; zweitens das hiervon scheinbar abliegende Unterfangen, über die italienische Ossian-Übersetzung von CESAROTTI einmal ein begründetes Urtheil abzugeben. Wir wollen auch verrathen, dass das letztere Motiv das erstere erzeugt hat—was der Gang unserer Darstellung des Näheren bekunden wird. In derselben Zeit, da die Macpherson'schen Publicationen in ganz Europa Aufsehen machten, versuchte GIUSEPPE BARETTI in Italien, den Character der damaligen englischen Litteratur, wie sie namentlich SAMUEL JOHNSON repraesentirt, der Litteratur seines Landes mit aller Gewalt aufzuprägen, jedoch ohne nachhaltigen Erfolg. Seine litterarische Wochenschrift *La Frusta Letteraria* brachte ihm wenig Geld ein und unendlichen Verdross; die in derselben niedergelegten Urtheile sind, wie ich demnächst ausführlich begründen werde, entweder nicht neu, oder unrichtig, und die Geschichtsschreiber der italienischen Litteratur des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts haben sich mit denselben längst abgefunden. Anders ist es mit dem Urtheil, das von BARETTI in einem Briefe über CESAROTTIS 'Ossian' gefällt wurde; man ist überall der Meinung, es hier mit einer besonderen Enthüllung zu thun zu haben, der ein ganz besonderer Werth beizulegen ist. Besagter Brief ist abgedruckt in BARETTIS 'Easy Phraseology,' die er London 1775 herausgab, p. 263-65:—

Alcuni anni sono era in Venezia un abate CESAROTTI, il quale sentendo molto lodare 'Ossian,' probabilissimamente da un qualche viaggiatore scozzese, si pose in testa di tradurlo in italiano colla lusinga di farne de' quattrini, essendo tutt'altro che ricco: ma il diavolo era, che non sapeva un vocabolo d'inglese. Per rimuovere questa difficoltà fece capo da un figlio naturale d'un nobiluomo inglese, nato in Venezia ed allevato nel vicinato. Il signorino, abbenchè molto studioso e molto ingegnoso, era tuttavia troppo giovane per saper molto di toscano, e il suo saper d'inglese non era nè tampoco molto grande. Nulladimeno parte per avvantaggiarsi nelle due lingue, e parte per far servizio all'abate suo amico, s'accinse a tradurre 'Ossian' il più fedelmente che potette. Compiuta l'opera, il Cesarotti la ridusse in versi sciolti e la stampò. L'edizione non si vendette troppo, non soltanto perchè la materia del poema tronfia, e rumorosa faceva una misera figura in una lingua che aborrisce que' due caratteri, ma anco perchè l'abate aveva copiosamente pilottata di venezianismi e di gallicismi Io era in Venezia quando la traduzione del Cesarotti si pubblicò, L'ho conosciuto, personalmente, come anco il giovine signorino di sopra mentovato, col quale pranzai più volte dal Residente d'Inghilterra a quella Repubblica, attualmente Imbasciatore a Costantinopoli. Ho parimente avuta sotto l'occhio la sua traduzione, anche prima che il Cesarotti la riducesse in versi sciolti; e fu appunto per dar la quadra allo stesso Cesarotti e alla sua traduzione, che inventai allora il vocabolo *versiscioltajo*; nome che solea dargli, volendo dire un *fabbricatore di versi sciolti*: ed ho fiducia che i nostri Accademici della Crusca non mancheranno di porre quella mia parola nella prossima ristampa del loro Vocabolario avendola io già vista adoperata da alcuni degli autori nostri.

Danach hätten wir es mit einer so unbedeutenden Übersetzung das Macpherson'schen Textes zu thun, dass ein tieferes Eingehen auf dieselbe weder Mühe noch Zeit lohnte, aber die Sache steht anders. So einseitig BARETTI'S Ansicht über den *verso sciolto* ist, so einseitig ist auch dessen Urtheil über CESAROTTI, ja, man kann sogar mit Bestimmtheit annehmen, dass der Hass des von BARETTI stets bis in den Himmel erhobenen SAMUEL JOHNSON gegen MACPHERSON wie gegen alle Schotten das Urtheil des italienischen Pamphletisten beeinflusst habe.

Der grösste Theil der Cesarottischen Übersetzung ist in *versi sciolti* abgefasst, und dies ist vor Allem beachtenswerth. Unstreitig hat MACPHERSON einen sehr grossen Antheil an der Vernichtung des in der ersten Hälfte des achzehnten Jahrhunderts überall noch so mächtigen Einflusses der französischen klassischen Richtung. In Italien hatte man seit dem Anfange des Jahrhunderts gegen den französischen Klassizismus und

den Petrarkismus gewöhlt und gebohrt, leider blieb man nur auf dem theoretischen Gebiete dabei, und so kluge Männer wie GRAVINA und MURATORI wussten in der Praxis gar nichts zu Wege zu bringen.—Der *verso sciolto* war schon im sechszehnten Jahrhundert durch TRISSINO in der italienischen Dichtkunst heimisch geworden. Im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, als die Reaction gegen den Klassizismus sich durchbrach und, wenn ich die Theoretiker jener Zeit recht verstehe, man zu einem reineren Klassizismus sich durchringen wollte, verlangte man nach einer allen Anforderungen genügenden Versform und griff zum reimlosen fünffüssigen Iambus. DENINA hat im 'Discorso sopra le vicende della letteratura,' die Ausgabe Venezia 1788 liegt mir vor, den Hergang anschaulich geschildert. Vgl. p. 392:—

Il Conte Algarotti, uomo di bell'ingegno, ma poeta poco più di chi non lo è, entrò in una specie di cospirazione poetica, che tentò di bandire la rima dalla poesia italiana. Quello che parve singolare era l'udire, ch'esso ed altri si prendessero questo impegno d'introdurre l'uso del verso sciolto per impedire, che non vi fossero più tanti verseggiatori in Italia, perchè la ricchezza della lingua faceva la rima facile, e questa facilità rende la poesia troppo commune. Il vero è che la maniera in cui il Conte Algarotti, l'Abate Frugoni, ed il Padre Bettinelli Gesuita lavorarono i versi non rimati non era opera da tutti. Ma essi non ottennero il loro intento in quanto al diminuir il numero de' verseggiatori, anzi l'accrebbero, perchè alla fine è assai più facile il verseggiar sciolto nelle lingue moderne, che il comporre in rima, per molto che sia ricca la lingua.

ALGAROTTI, geboren 1712, machte diese Frage zum Gegenstand einer besonderen Abhandlung: "Saggio sopra la rima," die im 4. Bande seiner Werke (Cremona, 1779) zum Abdruck gekommen ist. Seine grösste Autorität ist VOLTAIRE, auch die englischen Aesthetiker hält er sehr hoch, von Ersterem zieht er folgende stelle aus der Vorrede zum 'Oedipe' heran:—

Les Italiens et les Anglais peuvent se passer de la rime, parceque leur langue a des inversions, et leur poésie mille libertés qui nous manquent. Chaque langue a son génie déterminé par la nature de la construction de ses phrases, par la fréquence de ses voyelles ou de ses consonnes; ses inversions, ses verbes auxiliaires, etc. Le génie de notre langue est la clarté et l'élégance, nous ne permettons nulle licence à notre poésie, qui doit marcher comme notre prose dans l'ordre précis de nos idées. Nous avons donc un besoin essentiel du retour des mêmes sons, pour que notre poésie ne soit pas confondue avec la prose.

Auch ein Citat aus CHIABRERA ist beachtenswerth:—

IL CHIABRERA asserisce, che allora solamente la nostra poesia eroica sarebbe giunta alla perfezion sua, ch'ella fosse trattata col verso sciolto, ch'è il suo proprio. Nella medesima opinione, egli aggiunge, ch'era venuto il Tasso dopo conosciuti per prova gl'inconvenienti delle ottave, e della rima, ed afferma in oltre come gli avea detto quel gran poeta di voler scrivere un poema in versi sciolte, lo che nelle sette Giornate egli mandò ad effetto dipoi.

Es sind die Gründe ALGAROTTIS und seiner Gewährsmänner alle recht matt und seicht. Man wiederholt immerfort, dass der Reim eine Fessel sei, deren sich die Dichter entledigen müssten; als ob damit etwas Positives gesagt wäre! MAFFEI ist der Einzige, der etwas den Kern der Sache trifft, wenn er an VOLTAIRE schreibt: "Il vero paragon edì un poeta pare esser dovessero i versi puri e spogliati dalla maschera della rima."

Hätte man damals schon geahnt, was der Poesie nöthig ist, um mehr zu sein, als eine Zusammensetzung rhythmischer Klänge, so würde man—mit diesem *man* ist die gesammte italienische, französische und sonstige Schriftstellerwelt in der ersten Hälfte des Jahrhunderts gemeint—diese wichtige Frage nicht in so matter Weise behandelt haben. Vom Schwulste der Petrarkisten und dem leeren Pathos der Franzosen wollte man sich befreien, ohne zu wissen—nur Wenige wussten es—, worin wahre Poesie ihr Wesen hat. Mit einem Male lernte man am OSSIAN die wahre Poesie erfassen.

MELCHIOR CESAROTTI, der Mann, welcher Italien mit jener Naturpoesie bekannt machte, war 1730 in Padua geboren. Er studirte dort hauptsächlich unter TOALDOS Leitung, ging dann nach Venedig, wo er längere Zeit lebte und den jungen Grafen SACKVILLE kennen lernte. Letzterer machte ihn, wie oben bemerkt, mit MACPHERSONS Übersetzungen bekannt. Bald darauf wurde er in Padua Professor für griechische und hebräische Litteratur.—MACPHERSONS 'Ossian' machte einen mächtigen Eindruck auf den jungen CESAROTTI, worüber der folgende Brief an den Uebersetzer MACPHERSON selber beredtes Zeugniß ablegt. Vgl. 'Epistolario,' Firenze 1811, Bd. 1, p. 35-40:—

Permettez, Monsieur. qu'avec toute l'Italie, je vous félicite sur l'heureuse découverte que vous avez faite d'un nouveau monde poétique, et sur les précieux trésors dont vous avez enrichi la belle littérature. Vous avez de grands droits à la reconnaissance de votre patrie, et le public doit vous tenir compte de vos voyages, et de vos travaux. C'est bien autre chose que de nous apporter une plante stérile, ou quelque médaille rouillée. Non, je ne puis revenir de mon ravissement.

Votre Ossian m'a tout-à-fait enthousiasmé. Morven est devenu mon parnasse, et Lora mon Hippocrène. Je rêve toujours à vos Heros, je m'entretiens avec ces admirables enfants du chant; je me promène avec eux de côteau en côteau; et vos rochers couverts de chênes touffus et de brouillard, votre ciel orageux, vos torrents mugissans, vos stériles déserts, vos prairies qui ne sont parées que de chardons, tout ce spectacle grand et morne a plus de charmes à mes yeux que l'île de Calypso, et les jardins d'Alcinous. On a disputé long temps, et peut-être avec plus d'aigreur que de bonne fois sur la préférence de la Poésie ancienne et moderne. Ossian, je crois, donne gain de cause à la première, sans que les partisans des anciens y gagnent beaucoup. Il faut voir par son exemple, combien la poésie de nature et de sentiment est au dessus de la poésie de réflexion et d'esprit, qui semble être partagé des modernes. Mais s'il démontre la supériorité de la poésie ancienne, il fait aussi sentir les défauts des anciens poètes mieux que tous les critiques. L'Écosse nous montre un Homère, qui ne sommeille, ni ne babille, qui n'est jamais ni grossier, ni trainant, toujours grand toujours simple, rapide, précis, égal et varié. Mais il n'appartient pas à moi de faire l'éloge d'Ossian à celui qui a su rendre ses traits avec tant de force, et de précision, qu'on pourroit le prendre pour modèle. Je vous dirai plutôt, Monsieur, qu'en marchant sur vos traces, je pense aussi de transporter ces poésies en ma langue maternelle, c'est-à-dire en vers blancs italiens. Non que je me flatte d'approcher des beautés inimitables de ce grand génie; mais j'espère par ce moyen de me remplir mieux l'esprit de mon modèle, et de m'approprier ses manières.—So geht der Brief noch weiter.

Durch die Prosa des MACPHERSON in solche grosse Entzückung zu gerathen, zeugt von wirklicher dichterischer Begabung, und zwar von einer anders gearteten Begabung, als sie zum Beispiel die Sonettischen überhaupt die gesammten Arcadier jener Zeit hatten. Doch in der ersten Hälfte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts ist CESAROTTI nicht der einzige Italiener, der so zu fühlen vermag. Eines der wenigen Zeugnisse hierfür ist ein 1707 von BIAGIO-GAROFALO herausgegebenes Buch: 'Considerazioni intorno alla Poesia degli Ebrei dei Greci.' Es heisst daselbst p. 4, dass die Idee der Poesie nicht, wie so viele geglaubt haben, darin liege, dass man Erdichtetes unter dem Scheine des Wahren darstelle, auch nicht im Klange und der Harmonie der Verse, sondern in der wahren Weisheit, das heisst in dem tiefen Erfassen der göttlichen und menschlichen Dinge. Auf einer solchen Höhe der Auffassung hat auch CESAROTTI nicht einmal gestanden.

Dass CESAROTTI, wie BARETTI meint, bei der Übersetzung den Geldgewinn zunächst im Auge gehabt habe, kann man

nicht von der Hand weisen. Er war arm, er übersetzte auch *Tragödien* von VOLTAIRE in das Italienische, er musste glauben, mit seiner Ossianübersetzung ein besonderes Geschäft zu machen, denn Übersetzungen aller nur irgend bemerkenswerthen englischen Litteraturwerke waren zu jener Zeit begehrt. Noch 1768-9 gab sich CESAROTTIS Freund VAN GOENS, Professor des Griechischen in Leyden, alle Mühe, Exemplare seiner Ossian-Übersetzung zu Gelde zu machen. (Vgl. 'Epistolario' 1, 148 u. ff.) Doch sein Interesse und sein Geschmack am Ossian wuchs noch mit der Zeit, er verbesserte seine Übersetzung immer mehr, kurzum, sie wurde sein Lieblingswerk. In diesem Sinne schrieb er 1767 an VAN GOENS ('Epist.' 1, 81):—A questo libricciuolo aggiungo la traduzione delle Poesie del gran Bardo Caledonia. Confesso che quest Opera mi costò molta intensione di spirito, e che ho qualche tenerezza per essa. La traduzione delle tragedie di Voltaire non e che una cosa fatta per passatempo in età assai giovanile, nè io l'ho pubblicata che in grazia, dei Ragionamenti, e per far un atto d'omaggio a quel Genio della Francia coll'occasione che il nostro Goldoni s'avviava colà. Quella di Ossian e un opera di tutt altro lavoro. Ne attendo da voi un libero e sincero giudizio—si della Traduzione che 'delle Osservazioni; le quali tra noi hanno fatto andar in furore tutti i fanatici partegiani d'Omero.

VAN GOENS war CESAROTTI sehr congenial, er bestärkte ihn auch in seiner Bewunderung der Schönheiten des 'Ossian.' So schrieb ersterer noch 1769 an ihn ('Epist.' i, 156-7): Fingal est un poème épique aussi bien que l'Iliade. Les règles mêmes qu'Aristote a données dans ce genre, on les trouve exactement observées par le Barde Ecossais. J'en conviens; mais qu'en suit-il? qu'on doit chercher un rapport continu entre ces deux génies? Je ne le crois pas. Aristote tiroit ses règles de l'Iliade. Ces memes règles Ossian les observes. Mais Ossian les avoit tirées l'une et l'autre de la Nature. Le seul rapport qui reste entr' eux est donc celui, qu'ils sont l'un et l'autre élève chéris de la Nature.

Hier haben wir den wahren Standpunkt der neueren Poesie angegeben! Die Natur ist unfehlbar, ARISTOTELES nicht.—Nun muss noch eine Stelle aus einem Briefe CESAROTTIS an einen Unbekannten angeführt werden, um den Standpunkt des Übersetzers so recht zu kennzeichnen. Vgl. 'Epist.' iv, 47: Professeur de littérature grecque il m'e fallut travailler sur les auteurs de cette nation; et de plus presque tous mes ouvrages de prose et de vers ne furent que commandés. Il n'y a qu'Ossian dont j'ai entrepris la traduction par un mouvement spontané. Mais enfin ce n'est qu'une traduction, et s'il y a quelque chose d'original, cela ne regarde que le style. Quelque

droit plus solide à l'originalité pourroit me donner, j'ose m'en flatter, mon Homère, tel en particulier qu'on l' a publié a Venise avec le titre de l'Iliade ou la mort d'Hector. Ce n'est pas une traduction ni une imitation, mais on peut l'appeler une réforme et presque une régénération de l'Iliade.

Wir werden nachher sehen, dass CESAROTTI sich selber sehr richtig beurtheilt hat; seine Übersetzung von MACPHERSONS 'Ossian' ist eine wahre Übersetzung, sie giebt Alles Wort für Wort wieder und bedient sich dabei der edelsten und poetischsten Ausdrücke. Freie Umschreibungen sind verhältnissmässig ebenso selten, wie willkürliche Änderungen, wovon wir des Näheren weiter unten sprechen müssen.

CESAROTTI war sich vollauf bewusst, dass die Veröffentlichung seines OSSIAN den Anstoss zu einer gewaltigen Reform in der italienischen Litteratur geben könne. Man hatte seit Anfang des Jahrhunderts gegen den leeren Formalismus in der Poesie geeifert, man freute sich, den Marinismus, von dem Jedermann mit Geringschätzung sprach, überwunden zu haben, aber wohin war man gekommen, wie weit hatte man es gebracht? —Die Poesie war und blieb unter der Herrschaft der Arkadia zu Rom ein leerer Formalismus, eine Spielerei für Leute, die viel Zeit und einiges Geld übrig hatten. Jeder Geistliche, jeder Universitätsprofessor und sehr viele niedere und höhere Adlige hielten es für unumgänglich nothwendig, einmal oder öfter mit einem Bande mehr oder weniger nichtssagender Gedichte vor die Oeffentlichkeit zu treten; dazu kam die Schaar der Schmeichler und Kriecher, die die Feste der Grossen mit ihren zopfigen Dithyramben verherrlichten. CESAROTTI, ALFIERI und PARINI waren es, die der Poesie neuen Inhalt gaben, wenn auch jeder in anderer Art. CESAROTTI lenkte die Augen seiner Landsleute wieder auf die wahre Natur, ALFIERI zeigte ihnen in seinen Dramen die idealen Ziele des Menschendaseins, PARINI gab das Muster eines gut geschulten und von wahrer Sittlichkeit getragenen Dichters.

CESAROTTI und ALFIERIS litterarische Beziehungen sind interessant und lehrreich für uns, doch kann hier nicht auf Einzelheiten eingegangen werden. ALFIERI gab 1785 dem CESAROTTI seine Tragödien zum Kritisiren. Er erfüllte diese Bitte in einem langen, ausführlichen und streng sachlich gehaltenen Briefe, worin mancherlei Verbesserungsvorschläge in Bezug auf die Tragödien enthalten sind. ALFIERI erwiederte auf Alles sachlich und sehr respectsvoll, nur nicht auf einen kleinen Satz, dass nämlich die Sprache seiner Tragödien nicht

natürlich genug sei, welcher Vorwurf für beide Parteien höchst charakteristisch ist. Die Antwort ('Epist.' ii, 251) ALFIERIS ist zwar sehr höflich, aber doch scharf gehalten. Er sagt, die Sprache seiner Helden könne nicht die alltägliche Redeweise sein (was auch CESAROTTI auf keinen Fall gemeint haben kann), die Erfahrung habe andererseits gelehrt dass seine Verse stets ihre beste Wirkung gethan hätten, mithin er in CESAROTTIS Sinne Nichts ändern könne. Man gewinnt den untrüglichen Eindruck, dass CESAROTTI in dieser Frage einen höheren Standpunkt inne hatte, als ALFIERI.

CESAROTTIS Ossian-Übersetzung erschien in folgenden Ausgaben: Zuerst Padua 1763; 8°, 2 Bde.; nahezu alle Stücke sind darin, die MACPHERSON bis 1762 hatte erscheinen lassen; vor Allem also der Fingal. 1772 erschien die zweite vervollständigte, vielfach auch verbesserte Auflage gleichfalls in Padua in 4 Octavbänden. Die Anmerkungen, die die erste Auflage enthielt, waren in der zweiten fortgefallen. 1780 kam eine Ausgabe in Nizza in 3 Bänden 12° heraus, die aber recht ungenau sein soll, was auch von einer späteren Bassanoer Ausgabe gilt, die auf dieselbe zurückgeht. Die dann folgende Ausgabe war die in der Gesamtausgabe von CESAROTTIS Werken, Florenz 1807 in 4 Bänden. Für die Entstehungsgeschichte derselben ist folgende Stelle aus einem Briefe wichtig, den CESAROTTI im Juli 1798 schrieb ('Epist.' iv. 27): Io intanto rivedo di nuovo tutte le Poesie di Ossian, ritoccando qualche luogo; e aggiungendoci varie noterelle che fanno sentir l'industria del traduttore nel maneggiar un testo spesso intrattabile. A perfezionar l'edizione di Ossian avrei gran bisogno di avere non solo la traduzione Francese del le Tourneur, ma inoltre, l'altra opera contenente i poemi d'altri Bardi e di Ossian medesimo pubblicati dallo Smith in Inglese,¹ e tradotti poscia in Francese, estampati in Parigi nel 1795 in 3 tomi in 18°. Se credete che il Molini possa procurarmeli subito, raccomandategli caldamente di farli venire colla maggior sollecitudine.

Aus beiden Büchern scheint CESAROTTI viel gelernt zu haben, besonders aber aus der Übersetzung von LE TOURNEUR, denn die Anmerkungen, worin er seinen Text mit dem des MACPHERSON kritisch vergleicht, sind erst nach Lectüre dieses Buches verfasst. Die Uebersetzung, wie sie nun in letzter Bearbeitung vorliegt, ist, wie schon erwähnt, durchweg eine wörtliche zu nennen, sie zeugt von gutem Verständnisse und liebevollen Eindringen in das englische Original, zu welchem CESAROTTI zudem ein grenzenloses Vertrauen hatte. Die Kürze und

1. SMITH, 'Seana Dàna,' Ancient Lays, 1787, 80.

Einfachheit des Macpherson'schen Satzbaues, das Fehlen der verbindenden Conjunctionen, das Vermeiden aller Nebensätze und Perioden findet sich bei CESAROTTI, allerdings gewinnt seine Sprache durch diese Eigenthümlichkeit garnicht. Die glatt und sicher dahingleitende Rede PARINIS steht himmelhoch über dem zerhackten und niemals fließenden Italienisch des CESAROTTI. Und grade in das von ihm gewählte Versmass, den fünffüssigen Iambus, passte diese Sprache am wenigsten. CESAROTTI hätte bei seinen Talenten, bei seiner Liebe und Hingebung für die Aufgabe ein Meisterwerk bester Art geschaffen, wenn er es über das Herz gebracht hätte, auf Grund eines intuitiven Eindringens in die Schilderungen und Erzählungen Ossians, von der zerbröckelten Redeweise des englischen Textes sich emancipirend, in freier Wiedergabe aller Bilder und des genauen Sinnes der Vorlage, auch bei dem so anziehenden nebelhaften Colorit ruhig verharrend, eine frei dahin fließende und nirgends durch unnütze Punkte und neue Satzanfänge in ihrer Melodie so oft gestörte Sprache zu verwenden. Man betrachte den Anfang des Fingal:—

Di Tura accanto alla muraglia assiso,
 Sotto una pianta di fischianti foglie
 Stavasi Cucullin; lì presso, al balzo
 Posava l'asta; appiè giacea lo scudo.
 Membrava ei col pensiero il pro Cairba
 Da lui spento in battaglia, allor che ad esso
 L'esplorator dell'oceàn s'en venne,
 Moran figlio di Fiti. Alzati, ei disse,
 Alzati Cucullin: già di Svarano
 Veggo le navi; e numerosa l'oste,
 Molti i figli del mar. Tu sempre tremi,
 Figlio di Fiti, a lui rispose il duce
 Acchiazurro d'Erina, e la tua tema
 Agli occhi tuoi moltiplica i nemici.
 Fia forse il re de'solitarj colli,
 Che a soccorrere mi vien. No, no, diss'egli,
 Vidi il lor duce; al luccicar dell'arme,
 Alla quadrata torreggiante mole
 Parea massa di ghiaccio: asta ei solleva
 Pari a quel pin che folgore passando
 Disfrondato lascio: nascente luna sembra
 Il suo scudo.....

Bei einer solchen genauen Übersetzung kann man über poetische Schönheiten oder ästhetische Mängel mit CESAROTTI wenig rechten. Aber es sind gewisse Stellen im englischen Originale, die CESAROTTI nicht so wie sie sind übersetzen

durfte und konnte, weil sie handgreifliche Unrichtigkeiten dem Sinne nach und recht auffallende poetische Fehlgriffe aufweisen, Diese Bemerkung hat bisher jedermann gemacht, der den Text MACPHERSONS genauer geprüft hat, besonders solche Gelehrte, die den gälischen Text dabei vergleichen konnten. Von den Uebersetzern geht in dieser Beziehung CESAROTTI am Verständigsten vor, LE TOURNEUR steht ihm nach.

AHLWARDT hat in Deutschland den englischen Text einer ebenso scharfen wie sachgemässen Kritik unterzogen. Er that dies in der 1807 publicirten Probe einer Übersetzung des gälischen Originals wie auch in verschiedenen Zeitschriften (*Teutscher Merkur* 1810 und *Pantheon* 1810) bei Gelegenheit der Anzeige seiner deutschen Übersetzung. Um dem Leser einen Einblick zu geben in die Art und Weise, wie AHLWARDT mit dem Texte MACPHERSONS verfuhr, gebe ich hier einen Theil seiner Kritik wieder, wie er sie im *Neuen Teutschen Merkur*, Fünftes Stück 1810, p. 46-64 veröffentlichte. Fingal 1, 103, (in der Uebers. AHLWARDTS).

Heil ihnen, den Jägern des Rothwilds!
 Uns erhebt sich ein anderes Spiel,
 Der Feind ist am Busen des Meeres
 Umlenkend in Eile den Strand.
 Wird Kampf uns mit Lochlins Erzeugten?
 Wird Eirinn gegeben dem Feind?

Die Verse 105,6 des Originals, die zur Deutlichkeit des Ganzen unentbehrlich sind, lässt MACPHERSON aus, und giebt uns dafür einen Vers voll Schwulst, der den Zusammenhang zerreisst.

Vers 120: Sie Suarans Flotte, sie steigt,
 Steigt am Saum des Gestades empor,
 Wie Waldung am Lego der Helden.
 Abwechselnd sich beugend im Winde.

Den 121. Vers lässt MACPHERSON weg, aus dem waldumkränzten Lego, s. Tighmora 7, 1, macht er einen See voller Schilf und Binsen, macht aus einem Walde Wälder, und hüllt diese in Nebel ein, den man im Original vergebens sucht.

Vers 258: Und sehr lange wirst harren du, Muirne,
 Deinem Geliebten den Stein
 Setz ich, Tochter von Cormac!

MACPHERSON²: Long shall Morna wait. He fell by the stream of Branno!

² AHLWARDT bringt alle Stellen deutsch.

Der letzte Vers ist ein Zusatz von MACPHERSON. Hier ist Branno bei MACPHERSON ein Strom, und V. 224 ist er bei ihm ein felsigtes Gebirg. Von Inconsequenzen der Art wimmelt es bei MACPHERSON. Die Übersetzer gehen stumm vorüber, und vermehren z. B. bei V. 224 den Unsinn durch allerlei seltsame Dollmetschungen.

Vers 275: Hinsinkend am mächtigen Strom,
Streckt er aus die Hand und rief:

MACPHERSON: He fell, like the bank of a mountain-stream, and stretching forth his hand, he spoke:

Den ersten Vers hat MACPHERSON durch Bombast gänzlich enstellt. Im Original V. 215 heisst es:

Dir murmelt ein Strom zur Seite.

An diesen Strome wird Dubhchomar von Muirne durchbohrt, und sinkt nieder. Dies ist MACPHERSON viel zu einfach und matt; er lässt ihn also niederplumpen *wie das Ufer eines Bergstromes*. Doch der grösste Unsinn, von dem es unbegreiflich ist, dass keiner der Übersetzer ihn bemerkt hat, folgt bald nachher V. 288. Der an der tödlichen Wunde niedergesunkene Dubhchomar will sich rächen. Er bittet seine Mörderin, ihm den Stahl aus der Seite zu ziehen. Sie nähert sich ihm unter Thränen. Wie sie ihm nahe genug ist, packt er sie, zieht mit Anstrengung seiner letzten Kräfte das Eisen sich aus der Seite und stösst es Muirne in die Brust. Dies hat MACPHERSON auf das schändlichste so geändert und verzerrt:

She came, in all her tears, she came;
She drew the sword from his breast.
He pierced her white side!
He spread her fair locks on the ground!

Diese Proben mögen genügen, um zu zeigen, wie man in kritischer Weise mit dem Macpherson'schen Texte umzugehen hat und wie man mit ihm verfahren muss, wenn man ihn richtig würdigen will. Man müsste Zeile für Zeile mit dem Gälischen vergleichen und würde dann finden, dass in tausenden von Fällen MACPHERSON unverständlich oder platt und unpoetisch ist, wo dagegen das Gälische ungehobene Schätze von poetischen Schönheiten uns darbietet. Es werden Uebersetzer von AHLWARDT dafür getadelt, dass sie jedes wort des englischen Textes kritiklos hingenommen hätten, dabei die dunkeln Stellen desselben (AHLWARDT drückt sich schärfer aus) durch ihre Interpretationen noch widersinniger gemacht hätten. CESAROTTI ist von

diesem Tadel entschieden auszunehmen. Allerdings war für ihn MACPHERSONS Text das Original, allerdings stellte er ihn bei seiner Uebersetzung ebenso hoch, wie den Homertext bei seiner Homerübersetzung. Nie kam er so recht eigentlich auf den Gedanken, dass er selbst doch erst nach einer Übersetzung übersetzte. Was in der englischen Übersetzung stand, war und blieb für ihn immer altcaledonische Eigenthümlichkeit, worüber er noch dazu seine Leser des Langen und Breiten unterhielt, während es häufig nur sprachliche Eigenthümlichkeiten MACPHERSONS sind. Nur da, wo die Ungenauigkeit des Ausdruckes und die Sinnlosigkeit in der Darstellung zu arg wurde, wich er von seinem Originale ab und suchte diese seine Abweichungen durch Noten unter dem Texte zu rechtfertigen. In diesem Sinne ist eine genaue kritische Vergleichung des italienischen Textes mit dem englischen doppelt lehrreich. Nur sie allein ist im Stande, uns zu zeigen, wieweit CESAROTTI dabei künstlerisch und in wiefern er—was noch wichtiger ist—mit kritischem Verständnisse verfuhr, oder nicht. Sie bietet uns dabei noch Aussicht auf ein zweites Resultat. Man muss nämlich, um im Stande zu sein, die Dunkelheiten und Widersinnigkeiten MACPHERSONS auf ihren wahren Sinn zu ergründen, zum gälischen Texte seine Zuflucht nehmen, und da kommt man zu interessanten Ergebnissen, zu Ergebnissen, die obwohl nicht in ihrer Art neu, obwohl auch vereinzelt Keltologen heutzutage nicht unbekannt, dennoch vom grösseren gelehrten Publicum nicht mehr gewusst werden, die weil sie auf die Ossianfrage höchst wichtiges Licht werfen, allen den Gelehrten, die darüber ihre Urtheile aussprechen, aufs Neue vor die Seele geführt werden müssen.

Eine weniger wesentliche Bemerkung sei noch vorausgeschickt. CESAROTTI ging mit den Eigennamen so frei um, wie es die Italiener von je her gewohnt sind. Ein deutscher Übersetzer, wie AHLWARDT, hält es für nöthig, nicht nur die gälische Orthographie in seinem deutschen Texte richtig beizubehalten, sondern auch vorn den Leser in einem besonderen Tractate über die Aussprache derselben genau zu unterrichten. CESAROTTI handelt grade in entgegengesetzter Richtung. Fingallo, Soarano, Cucullino, Conalio, Fiti, Inisfela, Bresilla, etc., etc., sind die wohlklingenden Namen seiner Übersetzung, wobei es ihn wenig schmerzt, wenn sie im Englischen anders lauten und im Gälischen ganz anders.

Die folgenden Citate sind der oben schon erwähnten Ge-

sammtausgabe der Werke CESAROTTIS, worin die Ossian-Uebersetzung den ii, iii, iv, v Band ausmacht, die Florenz 1807 erschienen sind, entnommen.

Im Fingal heisst es CESAROTTI Bd. ii, p. 85:

Il presso, al balzo
Posava l'asta;

MACPHERSON: His spear leaned against a rock—

Hier ist offenbar ein Versehen. *Rock* hätte durch *balza* wiedergegeben werden müssen, *alla balza* wäre auch leicht in das Metrum zu schieben. Derartige offenbare Versehen sind äusserst selten.

p. 86: blue-eyed=Occhiazzurro.

Dazu eine Anmerkung:

Nell'originale (d. h. bei MACPHERSON, sono frequenti le parole composte. Il traduttore non ha trascurato questa energica bellezza di cui la lingua italiana è suscettibile (?); ma nel tempo istesso procurò di sfuggir la durezza, e la stravaganza della composizione.

Vgl. dazu DIEZ' Gr. ii⁴ p. 414 u. 415. Derartige Verbindungen sind äusserst selten im Italienischen, und es muss CESAROTTI entgegengehalten werden, dass Neubildungen solcher Art schwerlich erlaubt sind. CESAROTTI giebt uns auch selber stillschweigend Recht, wenn er gleich auf der nächsten Seite *the blue-eyed chief* übersetzt mit *il duce ceruleo sguardo* und p. 91 für dieselbe Wortverbindung *occhicerulio* sagt. Man sieht, wie es mit dem Wiedergeben solcher unitalienischer Ausdrücke seine Schwierigkeiten hat.

p. 86: Parea massa di ghiaccio—.

MACPHERSON: Tall as a glittering rock.

Anmerkung: Nell'originale non vi sono che queste parole: *alto come una rupe di ghiaccio*. Si è cercato di sviluppar il senso di questa espressione, come si fece in altri luoghi, avendo però sempre cura di non pregiudicare all'energia e vivacità della locuzione caratteristica del nostro autore.

Heisst denn überhaupt *glittering rock, rupe di ghiaccio*? Unmöglich! Das gälische Original hat

1, 19: *Coimeas do'n charraig an triath—*

Ähnlich wie ein fels (od. auch Grabstein) ist der Fürst.

ib. p. 86: Egli sedea sul lido

Sopra uno scoglio, annubilato in volto,
Come nebbia sul colle.

MACPHERSON: He sat on the shore, like a cloud of mist on the silent hill!

Anmerkung Il testo ha: simile a nuvola di nebbia sul colle. Non è sempre facile scorger il rapporto di questi modi comparativi assai spesso vaghe e confusi. Io cerco di fissarne il senso possibilmente. La rupe di ghiaccio rappresentava la statura; ho creduto che la nuvola di nebbia non possa riferirsi che al volto.

Das ist ein grosser Unsinn. Der Eisberg der übrigens nur in CESAROTTIS Phantasie existirt, der in Wirklichkeit (s. o.) ein Felsblock oder ein Grabstein ist, ist längst vergessen, auf keinen Fall steht er mit diesem Bilde im Zusammenhang. Solcherlei tiefe Beziehungen liegen auch garnicht in MACPHERSON'S Absicht, auch in diesem Falle deutet er so etwas garnicht an, der gälische Text hingegen lehrt uns vom Gegentheil.

I, 22: *Shuidh e air carraig's an thràigh*
Mar en ced' tha thafl air a' bheinn.

Er sass auf einem Fels bei der Küste.

Wie der Nebel dort drüben auf dem Berge (sitzt).

p. 87: Tre dì pugnammo, e ripugnammo; i duci
Stetter da lungi, è ne tremàr.

MACPHERSON: Three days we renewed the strife; heroes stood at a distance and trembled.

Heroes mit *duci* wiederzugeben, ist eine Ungenauigkeit, die aber nicht besonders gerügt werden soll.

p. 89: a noi ben altra
Caccia s'appresta, romorosa, forte
Come quell'onda che la spiaggia or fere.

MACPHERSON: Another sport is drawing near: it is like the dark rolling of that wave on the coast.

Anmerkung: Questo tratto serve all'evidenza del momento. Ma la forza e il ribombo d'un onda puo mai paragonarsi al romore d'una battaglia?

CESAROTTI hat mit dieser Anmerkung einen feinen poetischen Sinn bewiesen. Das Bild war nach seiner Empfindung unpassend, und wir sehen aus dem Gälischen, das es eine ungeschickte Erfindung MACPHERSON'S ist. Es heisst im Original:

I, 105: *Tha nàmhaid mu chromadh a' chuain*
Ag iadhiadh gu luath mu'n tràigh.

Der Feind ist in der Meeresbucht

Hurtig sich windend um das Gestade.

Die ganze Metapher mit der Welle fehlt demnach. Diejenigen der Leser, welche glauben, das gälische Original sei von MACPHERSON erst auf Grund des Englischen gemacht, bitte ich

jetzt schon, sich die Frage vorzulegen, warum denn das Gälische viel sachgemässer lautet, als das Englische?

p. 94: E donde vieni? l'interruppe allora
La donzelletta dalle bianche braccia.

MACPHERSON: From whence, the fair-haired maid replied.

Weshalb diese willkürliche Aenderung? *dalle bionde trecchie* würde sehr gut in den Vers gepasst haben und die Italiener wären von diesem Bilde entzückt gewesen.—Schon vorher ist auf der nämlichen Seite CESAROTTI in der Ausmalung weiblicher Reize von dem englischen Originale in geschmackloser und überflüssiger Weise abgewichen.

Sembran le mamme
Due liscie, tonde, luccicanti pietre
Che spuntano dal brano.

MACPHERSON schreibt: Thy breast are two smooth rocks seen from Branno of streams.

p. 95: io amo
Il sangue di Cathbar.

MACPHERSON: I love the wandering blood of Cathba.

Wandering muss CESAROTTI überflüssig erschienen sein; auch dem Verfasser der gälischen Texte erschien es so.

'Sannsa dhomh Cathbaid' us' fhuil
Theuer ist mir Cabad und sein Blut.

Auf welcher Seite liegt nun der schönere Ausdruck?

p. 95-96: Venne piangendo;
Trassegli il brando: si col pugnol di furto
Trafisse il bianco lato e sparse a terra
La bella chioma.

MACPHERSON: She came, in all her tears, she came; she drew the sword from his breast. He pierced her white side.

Anmerkung: Il testo ha solo: *egli le trapassò il bianco lato coll'acciaro*. Ma di qual acciaro si parla? (Morna hat ihm getödtet, er hat das Schwert in der Seite, liegt so am Boden und tödtet sie wieder.) Parmi che questo non possa aver altro senso che quello che già si è dato da me. L'avverbio *di furto* aggiunto, rende il fatto un po' più credibile. All'incontro il Le Tourneur colla sua traduzione lo rende ancor più difficile a concepirsi: Elle retire l'épée du sein du guerrier: Ducomar en tourne la pointe sur elle, et perce son beau sein.

Nach MACPHERSON ist das Ganze allerdings recht unverständlich. Der französische Uebersetzer hat aber das Richtige

gefühlt. Er hat zu Morna gesagt, komm, ziehe mir das 'Schwert aus der Seite; dann hat er es, als sie sich ihm näherte, schnell selbst herausgezogen und es der über ihn sich bückenden in die Brust gestossen. So ist die Situation.—Vergleichen wir das Galische.

1, 287: *Thàinig i gu deurach mall,
O'thaobh a tharruing an lann.
Reubadh leis a broilleach bàn.*

Sie näherte sich ihm langsam unter Thränen,
Aus der Seite ziehend das Schwert
Zerfleischte er ihre schneeweisse Brust.

Unbegreiflich ist, wie CLERK, 'Poems of Ossian,' vol. i, Edinb. u. London 1870, p. 377 übersetzten kann:

Tearful and slowly she drew nigh
To draw the blade from his side.

Wir haben hier um einer einfachen Sache willen viel Raum verwenden müssen. Aus Allem folgt, dass MACPHERSON schlecht übersetzt hat. Das Schwert steckt bei Ossian immer in der Seite. Vgl. Cath-Loduinn ii, 131, *Tharruing e'n iuthaid o thaobh*; u. ö. Hierbei sei erwähnt, dass CESAROTTI, p. 98, bekennt, einen Rathgeber bei der Erklärung mancher dunkeler Stellen gehabt zu haben in der Person des *signor Domenico Trant, dottissimo e gentilissimo cavaliere irlandese*. Wer ist dies?

p. 99: Il forte Cucullin, prole di Semo,
Re delle conche—

MACPHERSON: The hero's name is Cuthullin, son of Semo, king of shells.

CESAROTTI erklärt den letzteren Ausdruck in einer Anmerkung: S'è già detto che gli Scozzesi ne' loro conviti usavano di ber nelle conche, come pure lo usano i montanari ai giorni nostri. Perciò il termine di conche in queste poesie si usa spesso in cambio di convito. *Re delle conche* significa re dei conviti, cioè re ospitale e cortese.

1, 385: *Cuchullin nan gorm-bhallach sgiath,
Mac Sheuma, mu-n éireadh dân.*

Cucullin der blaugefleckten Schilde,
Der Sohn Sheumas, den der Gesang erhebt.

Das Gerundium *éireadh* von *eirich*, sich erheben, gr. αἶπειν,

ist hier äusserst poetisch angebracht; im englischen Texte wird man kaum eine so poetische Ausdrucksweise finden.

Wo stecken nun aber die *shells*?³ Man wird fast zu der Muthmassung gezwungen, das MACPHERSON das Wort *dàn* nicht verstanden habe. Der Leser wird im Folgenden einige Bestätigungen dafür finden.

p. 103: E chi questi mai, fuorchè il possente
Figlio dell'oceano, e il nato al carro
D'Erina correttore.

MACPHERSON: Who is it but Ocean's son and the car-borne chief of Erin?

Anmerkung: La voce *car-born* dell'originale può significare ugualmente *portato sul carro*, e *nato al carro*. Quantunque il primo significato sembri il più naturale e il più semplice, il traduttore s'è attenuto al secondo ch'è più poetico, e infondo vale lo stesso: specialmente che si trova spesso in queste poesie *figlio del carro* usato nel medesimo senso. Così *nato al carro* e quanto a dire fra noi nato al *soglio*.

1, 498: Co 'th 'ann ach suaran nan long,
'S triath Eirinn mu-n tìreadh dìn?

Wer sind sie als Swaren der Schiffe
Und der Fürst von Eirinn sängerberühmt.

Also auch hier ist *dàn* falsch übersetzt.

p. 104: Allor d'Erina
Il generoso duce il suo leggiadro
Spirito ripigliò:

MACPHERSON: Cuthullin, chief of Erin's war, resumed his mighty soul:

Anmerkung: Le parole del testo sono: *Cucullino, duce della guerra d'Erina*, ripigliò la sua possente anima. Da ciò che segue è visibile che il senso non può esser che questo: che quel duce tornò alla sua naturale generosità. Se così, l'aggiunto di possente non è il più proprio, o certo non il più chiaro. Il termine di *leggiadro* quadra assai meglio avendo presso i buoni scrittori un senso misto di gentilezza e nobiltà d'animo qualità caratteristiche di questo eroe. Del resto, il traduttore francese non colse nel segno quando tradusse: *Cucullin recueillit sa sa grande âme*.

3. Vgl. Fingal II, 234, 'S do thigh grinn gun slige chùbraidh.

Und dein Schönes Haus ohne die duftende Schlüssel.

MACPHERSON: The hall of shells is silent.

Desgl. Fingal III, 69; Ähnlich III, 144.

Vgl. I, 513: *'N sin thuirt ceann-uidhe na feile,
Triath Eirinn an anam mhòir—*
Dann sprach der freundliche Mahl-Spender
Der Fürst von Eirinn, der Grosse an Seele—

Wie elend müht sich CESAROTTI ab, wo doch hier Alles so klar ist.

Canto ii, p. 111: Entro la calma
Del suo riposo, egli spiccar dal monte
Vide di foco un roseggiante rivo:
Per quell'ardente luminosa riga
A lui scese Crugallo, uno dei duci—

MACPHERSON: The hero beheld, in his rest, a dark-red stream of fire rushing down from the hill. Crugal sat upon the beam, a chief who fell in fight.

Es ist zwar bei einem Geiste nicht unmöglich, dass er auf einem Lichtstrahle reitet, aber schön ist ein solches Bild nicht. CESAROTTI hat die Hässlichkeit des Bildes ein wenig gemildert.

ii, 9: *Chunnaic an gaisgeach'n a shuain
Sruth caoirtheach o chruaich nam beann;
Shuidh Cruthgeal air dearrsa gu'chùl,
Saoi a thuit le cliu's a'ghleann.*

Es erblickte der Held im Schläfe
Einen flammenden Strom vom Abhang des Gebirges;
Es sass Cruthgeal in Helle durch und durch,
Ein Held der glorreich im Thale gefallen.

Auch hier ist das Räthsel sofort durch das Heranziehen des Gälischen gelöst.

p. 113: Trofeo di gloria alle futuri età
Sorgera la mia tomba:

MACPHERSON: If fall I must, my tomb shall rise, amidst the fame of future times.

Wir wollen gleich verrathen, dass auch hier wieder das Wort *dàn* für MACPHERSON ein gewaltiger Stein des Anstoses gewesen sein muss. Map beachte das Gälische:

ii, 98: *Ma's fheadar tuiteam tìridh m'uaigh,
Aig iomairt nan stuadh, fo dhànaibh.*

Wenn ich fallen muss, wird errichtet mein Grabhügel
Neben dem Kampfgewühl der Wellen mit Gesang.

Warum hat nun MACPHERSON dieses schöne Gemälde nur im gälischen Text?

p. 115: Maestoso e grande
 A par del cervo de'morvenii boschi
 Svaran avanza—

MACPHERSON: Tall as the stag of Morven, moved stately before them the king.

Anmerkung: E verisimile che questo fosse un cervo particolare di Fingal, di straordinaria grandezza e maestà; poichè il poeta lo crede degno di rappresentarci Svarano. Ad onta di ciò, non par che il cervo sia l'animale più appropriato d'immagine a questa gran bestia.

Das Gälische zeigt, das CESAROTTI Richtiges ahnte.

ii, 151: *Mar thorc ciar air cruaidh nam beann,
 Ghluais'n a airm àrd rìgh nan lann;*
 Wie der schwarze Eber auf dem Abhange des Berges
 Setzte sich in seinen Waffen in Bewegung der hohe
 Schwertkönig.

Der Hirsch heisst *fiadh*, was auch Wild im Allgemeinen bedeutet.

p. 117-8: Carilo era in disparte: ei fa che s'alzi
 Il suon del corno bellicoso; e intanto
 Scoglie la grata voce, ed il suo spirito
 Sgorga nel cor de'bellicosi eroi.

MACPHERSON: Carril, far on the heath, bids the horn of battle sound. He raises the voice of song, and pours his soul into the minds of the brave.

Anmerkung: L'originale: *e sgorga la sua anima nella mente degli eroi*. Nella prima edizione s'era tradotto: *ed il suo spirito Sgorga nell'alme degli estinti eroi*. Questo senso di fatto sembrava il più convenevole. La canzone di Carilo non si riferisce per nulla ai guerrieri irlandesi viventi, ma solo a Crugal già morto. (CESAROTTI sucht nun das Gesagte durch die Situation zu begründen).

Vgl. ii, 227. *Bha Carull anns an doire shuas,
 Stoc nam buadh a'fuaim'n a làimh,
 'Thogail anama nòr ae t-shìrìh
 Le cruaidh brosnachadh nan dùn.*

Es war Carull im Gehölze oben,
 Das Schlachthorn der Siege tönend in seiner Hand
 Erhebend den hohen Muth⁴ des Heeres

Durch die Stärke der Lieder ermunternd.

Wir haben das Gälische absichtlich wörtlich übersetzt.

⁴ Vgl. TIGHMORA iv, 57.

CESAROTTIS Schwierigkeiten sind nur durch die Unklarheiten
MACPHERSONS zu erklären.

p. II9: in mezzo a mille,
Qual balena che' i mar frange col pondo,
Slanciassi e muggia;

MACPHERSON: He roared in the midst of thousands.

Das Bild ist eine Erfindung CESAROTTIS.

Noch anders lautet die Stelle im Gälischen:

ii, 258: (*Dh'aom e tro'mhilleán ar t-sluaigh.*)
(*Er eilte hinab durch Tausende des Heeres.*)

Fingal iii, p. 131: Ei celebrò la bella
Vergine della neve, e'l nato al carro
Signor di Selma—

MACPHERSON: He praised the daughter of Lochlin, and Morvens high-descended chief.

iii, 80: *Mhol e nighean Lochlin nam frith*
'S triath Mhòrbheinn a's airee gruaim.
 Er pries die Tochter Lochlins der Wildniss
 Und den Herrscher Mhorbheinnus, den mit Grimm erfüllten.

p. 135: Poi ch'avrà Fingallo
Guasto il campo nemico, appo una pietra
Di memoria ripommi, onde il mio nome
Passi ai tempi futuri, e si rallegrì
La madre di Calmar curva sul sasso
Della mia fama.

MACPHERSON: That the mother of Calmar may rejoice in my
renown.

iii, 213: *Bi'dh a mhàthair an astar an fhéidh,
Fo aoibhneas a' coimhead air'ùir.*
Möge seine Mutter auf dem Pfade des Wildes
Mit Fröhlichkeit niederblicken auf sein Grab.

Wie platt nimmt sich hiergegen das Englische aus!

p. 137: Qual verdeggiante
Vapor di morte che talora si posa
Su i capi di Malmor.

MACPHERSON It was like the green meteor of death setting in the heath of Malmor.

Ist hier *heath* mit *head* verwechselt, oder *capi* mit *campi*?

p. 143: sento da lungi
Te trepido rumor della lor tema,
Simile al mar che bolle.

MACPHERSON: Far off I hear the noise of their feet like distant sounds in woods.

Weshalb hier der Wechsel im Bilde? Damit wäre über

Fingal das Nöthigste gesagt. Hieran sei die kurze Besprechung von CALLODA geschlossen. (CESAROTTI-Ausg. Bd. iv., p. 36 ff.)

Calloda i, p. 36: Pochi del duce nell'estrania terra
Sono i seguaci.

Anmerkung: L'Autore la chiama *sconosciuta*: ma tale non poteva essere in rigor di Ferminé, essendo questa vicina a Gormal, sede di Starno, ove Fingal s'era già trovato più d'una volta.

MACPHERSON: Few are the heroes of Morven in a land unknown.

i, 14: 'S neo-Monmhor glan òigridh nam beann;
Tir choigrich a' togail fo'n ceann.

Von kleiner Zahl ist die herrliche junge Mannschaft der Berge;

Das Land der Fremden erhebt sich dagegen vor ihnen.

p. 37: O dal tuo ramo,
Ove pendì lassù misto coll'arpe,
Scendi mio scudo;

Anmerkung: Il testo ha: *scendi tu che abiti tra le arpe*, e nulle più. Non era facile ad intendersi ch'egli parli dello scudo. Vicendevolmente nel canto 5 di Temora, Ossian chiama *abitatrice fra gli scudi* l'arpa.

MACPHERSON: 'Come down,' thus Temora said, 'thou dweller between the harps! Thou shalt roll this stream away or waste with me in the earth.'

i, 40: Thusa' chòmhnà 's am measg nan clàrsach,
A sgiath bhallach, druid-sa gu m'làimh;—

Das da wohnt mitten unter Harfen,

Du gefleckter Schild, nähere dich meiner Hand;—

p. 41: Starno era questi, il truce re: rota egli
Sopra di me gli occhi di bragia, ombrate
Dall'ondeggiante setoloso ciglio
Gioja atroce spiranti.

Anmerkung: L'originale porta: *oscuro errava l'irsuto suo ciglio sopra il suo increspato sorriso*. Un ciglio che ondeggia sopra un sorriso, o se si vuol, sopra un labbro, è un'idea alquanto strana, e più che caledonia. S'è cercato di renderla un po' più nostrale.

MACPHERSON: Dark waved his shaggy brow above his gathered smile.

i, 151: Bu dorchà garbh a mhàla dhubh,
S' è 'gàire gun chruth le sòlas.

Es waren dunkel und wild seine schwarzen Augenbrauen,
Und er lachte in unfreudiger Weise.

p. 44: —atro-velluto il ciglio
Vedi ondeggiar sull'addensata rabbia
Che gli scoppia dal guardo;

Anmerkung: L'originale: *il suo velluto sopracciglio ondeggia sopra l'ammassata sua rabbia*. Il traduttore ha creduto ben

fatto di collocar nell'occhio cotesto cumulo di rabbia, perchè il ciglio potesse ondeggiarvi sopra, senza gran difficoltà. Così l'espressione è meno strana, senza essere meno forte.

MACPHERSON: His shaggy brows wave dark, above his gathered rage.

i, 223: *A mhala dhubh a' cromadh trom*
Air agaidh uaibhrich an ardain.

Seine schwarzen Augebrauen waren schwer gehoben
Ueber dem hochfahrenden Zornes-Antlitz.

Calloda ii, p. 52: Comparve
L'occhio notturno d'Ulloclina, e vide
Della donzella il tenero sospiro,
L'alzar del seno, e'l volteggiar del fianco.

Anmerkung: Nell'originale non vi sono che queste parole, *e vide le agitate braccia de Strinadona*. Il poeta intende di significare l'inquietudine amorosa della donzella; ma questo solo indizio non fa sentir abbastanza il suo intendimento. Il traduttore ha sostituiti alcuni altri contrassegni che hanno una relazione più stretta colla passione di una giovine innamorata.

MACPHERSON: Ul-lochlin's nightly eye looked in, and saw the tossing arms of Strina-dona.

ii, 200: *Sheall caoin-reul Lochlin o stuaidh*
Air ainnir aluinn bu gldaine ùrla,
'Si 'togail a làmh geal, cavin,
Stri-nandaoin' 'bu ghuirme sùil.

Es blickte Lochlins glücklicher Stern vom Meere aus
Auf das liebliche Mädchen mit hellem Antlitz,
Wie sie ihre sanften weissen Arme erhob
Strinadona die blau-äugige.

Kann es ein lieblicheres Bild geben?

Nun wollen wir den Leser nicht länger mit diesen Vergleichen aufhalten, das Resultat erkennt man jetzt schon für Genüge. Würden wir auf diese Weise das ganze Buch durchgehen, so würden wir immer wieder beobachten, wie sich CESAROTTI abmüht, um den dunkelen und widerspruchsvollen Ausdrücken MACPHERSONS Sinn und Bedeutung zu geben und in seiner Übersetzung die ästhetischen Mängel abzuschwächen oder zu vermeiden. Richten wir dann wieder unsere Blicke auf den gälischen Text, so erkennen wir mit voller Bestimmtheit, dass die Unklarheiten im englischen Texte im gälischen nicht nur nicht begründet sind, nein, dass sogar Schönheiten in Hülle und Fülle demselben innewohnen, von denen aus MACPHERSONS englischen Umdichtungen Niemand eine Ahnung erhält. Hier ist mithin die hundertjährige Streitfrage anzugreifen, an derselben Stelle, wo ihr am Anfang unseres Jahrhunderts AHLWARDT bereits so erfolgreich nahe trat. Hat MACPHERSON

den gälischen Text erst nachträglich nach dem von ihm gefertigten englischen gedichtet, oder hat er ächte alte Texte publicirt?—Die erstere Frage bejahte die Talvj, die letztere die gälischen Patrioten.

In Deutschland haben sich neuerdings zwei Stimmen über die Streitfrage vernehmen lassen, beide von Männern unbezweifelter wissenschaftlicher Autorität. AUG. EBRARD schrieb 1870 sein 'Handbuch des Mittelgälischen,' besonders der Sprache Ossians, wobei er direkt von der Annahme ausgeht, dass er alte gälische Texte vor sich hat. Er zeigt dabei wie auch bei anderer Gelegenheit (vgl. *Augsb. Allgemeine Zeit'g* 1869, No. 29), dass er mit der Litteratur des ganzen Streites unzureichend bekannt ist, weshalb ihm der rechte Überblick über die Sachlage abgeht. In einem Nachwort bricht er nämlich mit kurzen, energischen Worten eine Lanze für die Ächtheit der gälischen Gedichte, und hier sagt er z. B., HUBER hätte in der *Neuen Jenaischen Allgemeinen Litteraturzeitung* 1843, No. 27-29, nachgewiesen, dass MACPHERSON alte Manuscripte benutzt habe. Dies ist nun aber ein gewaltiger Irrthum, der Aufsatz HUBERS ist nichts als ein Referat über die Einleitung zu MACGREGORS Ossian-Übersetzung, und diese Einleitung ist zum guten Theil auch nur Compilation.—Der zweite deutsche Gelehrte, der sich über diese Fragen äusserte, ist der wohlbekannte E. WINDISCH. Derselbe spricht sich in ERSCH u. GRUBERS 'Encyclopädie,' Art. "Kelt. Sprachen," 2te Section, Bd. xxxv, folgendermassen über die Frage aus:—

Dass der gälische Text von Macphersons Ossian jemals so wie er ist in einem älteren Manuscripte existirt habe, ist eine literarische Unmöglichkeit. Macpherson hat sich des ihm im Jahre 1760 gewordenen Auftrags, in den schottischen Hochlanden altkeltische Poesie zu sammeln und sie dann *in the most perfect shape possible* der Welt zu übergeben, in glänzender Weise entledigt, nur hat er sein Material in freier Weise zu neuen Gedichten umgestaltet. Nichts ist mehr geeignet, ahnen zu lassen, wie Macpherson verfuhr, als die Darstellung seines ersten Auftretens und seiner Aufnahme von Seiten des Publikums, welche Professor Blackie, S. 197, fg. seines Buches über die Sprache und Literatur des schottischen Hochlandes gegeben hat. Kein einziges von Macpherson gälischen Gedichten ist bis jetzt in anderen Quelle aufgetaucht, weder in einem Manuscripte noch in mündlicher Ueberlieferung, weder in einer Quelle vor Macpherson noch in einer Aufzeichnung nach seiner Zeit. Wir glauben sehr gern, dass die Manuscripte, welche er benutzt hat, ein Jahr lang bei einem Buchhändler für Einsicht gelegen haben, aber leider hat sie Niemand eingesehen, so dass also nicht festgestellt ist, was für Manuscripte es waren und in wie weit sie dem gälischen Texte Macphersons entsprechen. Im günstigsten Falle darf man vermuthen, dass

es Manuscripte waren, die noch jetzt in einer der von Campbell angeführten Sammlungen vorhanden sind, und dass sie allerdings einen Theil des Materials enthielten, das Macpherson zu seinen Dichtungen verwendet hat.

Um Macphersons persönlichem Charakter gerecht zu werden darf man nicht übersehen, dass er weder als Keltologe, noch als Alterthumsforscher aufgetreten ist, sondern als *Dichter*. Seine *Englisch* geschriebenen Gedichte sind es, die seinen Ruhm begründet haben, und diese werden immer eine bedeutende Erscheinung der Literaturgeschichte bleiben, denn sie haben ihre Zeit mächtig beeinflusst. Erst lange nach der Veröffentlichung der englischen Gedichte sind die gälischen Texte bekannt geworden. (Dies ist ein schwerer Irrthum.) Macphersons Hauptschuld ist, dass er, erbittert durch die auf ihn gerichteten Angriffe keine offene Auskunft über ihren Ursprung gegeben hat. Auf keinen Fall kann sein Ossian als eine reine Quelle echten Keltenthums betrachtet werden. Dass der gälische Text weiter nichts als eine nachträgliche Uebersetzung aus dem Englischen sei, ohne Anlehnung an gälische Quellen, glaube ich nicht. Vielmehr wird er mit freier Benutzung vorhandener Texte und Fragmente, wahrscheinlich auch auf Grund von Notizen über mündliche Berichte wenigstens im Plane zugleich mit dem englischen Texte entstanden sein. Da aber Macpherson zuerst den letzteren veröffentlichte, und es sehr unwahrscheinlich ist, dass er trotzdem den gälischen Text vor diesem druckfertig gemacht hätte, so liegt allerdings die Vermuthung nahe, dass der gälische Text erst nach dem englischen vollendet und im Anschlusse an denselben gestaltet worden ist. Hierbei müssen die Quellen vielfach verändert und mancher gälische Vers neu geschmiedet worden sein, um die Fragmente zu grösseren Ganzen zu vereinigen. Da der Dichter nicht besonders sicher im Gälischen gewesen sein soll, so spricht Blackie von einem mithelfenden Freunde, der mitthätig gewesen sei. Einiges Licht fällt auf diese verborgenen Vorgänge durch das, was wir über das Buch 'Sean Dana' von John Smith erfahren. Dieser veröffentlichte nach dem von Macpherson gegebenen Beispiele seine Texte im Jahre 1780 gleichfalls zuerst in englischer Uebersetzung, liess aber dann schon im Jahre 1787 seine gälischen Originale folgen; Smith nennt die Personen, von denen er sie erhielt, erklärt aber ausdrücklich, dass er seine Vorlage nach gedruckten Texten corrigirte, und ihre Lücken durch eigene Zuthaten ergänzte.

Wenn der scharfsinnige Sprachforscher WINDISCH beim Verfassen dieses Abschnittes etwas bessere Quellen gehabt hätte, als nur die Dissertation von CLERK, die dieser seiner neuen Ossian-Ausgabe vorausschickt, so hätte er sicherlich zu besseren Resultaten kommen müssen. Wie EBRARD, so ist auch WINDISCH der *Highland Society's Report*, von dem man stets ausgehen muss, sicherlich auch die Einleitung MACGREGORS, die wir oben erwähnten, unbekannt geblieben. Desgleichen wäre ihm eine Vergleichung des gälischen Textes mit

dem englischen, wie sie schon AHLWARDT und wir nach ihm in anderer Weise vorgenommen haben, äusserst lehrreich geworden. So müssen wir WINDISCHS Abschnitt über diese Frage, der allerdings im ganzen Artikel nur eine beiläufige Rolle spielt, für resultatlos erklären. EBRARDS Ansichten sind schon richtiger, aber die Stützen fehlen ihnen.

MACPHERSON kam zu seiner Aufgabe nicht aus eigenem Antriebe. Als gewöhnlicher Schulmeister und als ganz schlechter Dichter fühlte er weder den Trieb in sich, alte gälische Volkslieder zu sammeln, noch gar welche zu fälschen, und zwar mit so vielem dichterischen Erfolge, dass er in ganz Europa dafür gefeiert wurde. Bedeutende und angesehene Männer, wie FERGUSSON, HOME, und DR. BLAIR haben ihn zum Sammeln gälischer Manuscripte angetrieben. Der *Report der Highland Society* enthält im Appendix die Correspondenz hierüber. Unumstösslich sicher ist, dass MACPHERSON sich bewegen liess, solche sammlungen vorzunehmen und zu diesem Zwecke mit guten Empfehlungen versehen, wie MACGREGOR direct erfahren hat, ganz Schottland bereiste. Ein Kenner des Gälischen, LACHLAN MACPHERSON aus Strathmathies, begleitete ihn auf diesen Fahrten Dank der Bemühungen der *Highland Society* weiss man längst ganz genau, dass MACPHERSON eine recht grosse Menge gälischer Manuscripte bekam. Man weiss von REV. ANDREW GALLIE⁶, bei dem er eine Zeit lang wohnte, dass er u. A. ein sehr altes, mit bunten Initialen geschriebenes Manuscript, dass aber vielfach von Würmern zerfressen war, bekommen hatte, dass er ferner mit GALLIE zusammen an der Uebersetzung der Manuscripte thätig war, dass sie sich auch oft dabei (wie sich denken lässt) über Sinn und Bedeutung des Textes stritten. Im Frühjahr 1761 wohnte MACPHERSON bei DR. BLAIR und war dort mit Uebersetzen beschäftigt. Dasselbst verkehrte auch FERGUSSON, der u. A. das Zeugniß abgibt, MACPHERSON habe durchaus treu übersetzt. Solcher Zeugnisse giebt es eine grössere Anzahl. Jeder Kenner des Gälischen, der mit MACPHERSON in Berührung gekommen ist, hat rückhaltslos bezeugt, dass derselbe alte Manuscripte hatte und dass er die Texte ziemlich richtig in das Englische übersetzte. Die Masse der Handschriften muss eine recht grosse gewesen sein, MACPHERSON hat überall in Scotland die genaueste Nachforschung gehalten, und so können wir uns nicht wundern, dass jede spätere Nachlese ohne Resultat verlief. MACPHERSON hatte eben alle Texte an sich gezogen.

Dass aber die Uebersetzungen, die MACPHERSON anfertigte,

⁵ Vgl. Report p. 8.

⁶ Vgl. Report p. 44 and Appendix p. 9.

stellenweise recht schlecht waren⁷, lässt sich erstens daraus schliessen, dass er ein jammerlich schlechter Dichter war; seine eigenen englischen Gedichte sind unter aller Kritik. Ferner fehlte ihm jede tiefere Kenntniss des Gälischen und jede linguistische Schulung überhaupt. Palaeographische Kenntnisse dürfen wir vollends nicht bei ihm vermuthen.—Warum publicirte er nun nicht gleich die Texte, sondern nur die Uebersetzungen? Diese Frage beantwortet sich von selbst. In jener Zeit würde kein Buchhändler es gewagt haben, die gälischen Texte, und seien sie sämmtlich auch aus dem 14. Jahr. gewesen, ohne sichere Subscribenten in Verlag zu nehmen. MACPHERSON hat in dieser Hinsicht ganz folgerichtig gehandelt. In der Vorrede von 1762 spricht er sich in durchaus klarer Weise über diesen Umstand aus. Er beabsichtigte damals, was auch das Beste gewesen wäre, die Handschriften einer öffentlichen Bibliothek zu übergeben.—So hat WINDISCH Unrecht, wenn er sagt, die Hss. seien nicht bekannt gewesen; sie waren sehr wohl vielen Leuten bekannt, allerdings nur solchen, die in Schottland in MACPHERSONS Nähe lebten. Die grosse Welt hatte ja kein Interesse daran. Wer könnte den so zahlreichen durchaus übereinstimmenden Zeugnissen gegenüber sich ablehnend verhalten?

Gleich nach dem Erscheinen des englischen Textes warf HUME, der MACPHERSONS Verhältnisse nicht kannte, die Frage auf, ob denn die Dichtungen überhaupt ächt seien; er fragte direct bei BLAIR deswegen an. Letzterer, der kein Gälisch verstand, richtete Anfragen an die geachteten Kenner des Gälischen, die in Schottland lebten, welche die Ächtheit durchweg bejahten, nur liessen sie es im Zweifel, ob MACPHERSON auch gut und richtig übersetzt habe. Die Correspondenz hierüber giebt BLAIR im Anhang zu seiner Dissertation, die der 2. und 3. Londoner Ausgabe von MACPHERSONS Uebersetzungen beige druckt ist. Zwischen 1769 u. 1773 hielt sich MACPHERSON in Florida, wohin er seine Handschriften mitgenommen hatte, auf. Als er 1773 zurückgekehrt war, musste der Streit schon ein recht lebendiger geworden sein, und es musste ihn schmeicheln, für den Verfasser dieser im höchsten Grade epochemachenden Dichtungen gehalten zu werden. In der Vorrede zu seiner 1773 erschienenen revidirten Ausgabe suchte er wirklich, sich den Anschein zu geben, als sei er der Verfasser. Er redet von sich als dem *author*; er sagt, er könne auch auf

⁷ I have wrote down the passages, which Mr. MACPHERSON repeated in your house; and every one that reads them, allows they lose by the translation.—Brief MACAULAYS vom 25. Jan. 1764, in App., p. 23.

andere Art dichten und versteigt sich sogar zu dem grossartigen Ausspruche, *the making of poetry, like any other handicraft, may be learned by industry*. Diese Worte besagen hoffentlich genug. Folgende Strophe aus einem seiner Gedichte mag zeigen, was er für Poesie hielt:

Some rural maid, with apron full,
Brings fuel to the homely flame;
I see the smoky columns roll,
And, through the chinky hut, the beam.

Nun trat aber ein Ereigniss ein, das MACPHERSON doch zwingen musste, zur Wahrheit wieder zurückzukehren. Wenn er durch die Vermuthung, er sei der Dichter, angeregt wurde, durch doppelsinnige Äusserungen diese Ansicht zu bestärken, so musste ihm andererseits der Vorwurf, er sei ein Fälscher, doch zu peinlich sein, als dass er hätte können bei seinem Standpunkte beharren.

Besagter Vorwurf kam von einem convertirten schottischen Priester, der zuerst selber sich viel mit der gälischen Sprache beschäftigt hatte, Handschriften gesucht hatte, um ein Wörterbuch abzufassen, aber ohne Erfolg, wozu ihm sein Freund CLARK sagte, MACPHERSON habe bereits alles Material an sich gezogen, er könne also Nichts mehr finden. Später fand SHAW einige Personen, die ihm aus dem Gedächtnisse, gälische Dichtungen recitirten. Dann ging er nach London,⁸ sagte vorher zu CLARK, mit gälischen Gedichten sei dort kein Geschäft zu machen, wohl aber sei etwas zu verdienen, wenn man gegen die Ächtheit der Ossianischen Gedichte etwas schriebe. Dies führte er aus. DR. JOHNSON, der die Schotten bitter hasste, hatte über das Buch von SHAW seine helle Freude. Ich glaube, dass erst von MACGREGOR der SHAW richtig gekennzeichnet ist, und gezeigt worden ist, mit was für verwerflichen Mitteln er arbeitete. Hätte die Talvj diese Introduction gelesen, ihr Buch über die Unächtheit der Ossianischen Gedichte wäre dann ungedruckt geblieben.

Nun hatte MACPHERSON die Wahl, als Fälscher dazustehen, oder als schlechter Uebersetzer. Naturgemäss suchte er Beides zu vermeiden, weshalb er nicht die Handschriften an die Öffentlichkeit gelangen liess, diese sind endgültig verloren, sondern eine im Hinblick auf den englischen Text gefertigte Abschrift.— Hier treffen wir uns wieder mit WINDISCH und EBRARD, hier haben die Keltologen mit ihrer Kritik fortzufahren.

⁸ MACGREGOR, Introd., p. 19.

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I. *On the Impersonal Verb.*

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The question concerning the origin and nature of the so-called impersonals is one of great interest to the philosopher as well as to the philologist; for it is here where logic and grammar meet to solve a problem that belongs to both of these sciences. The impersonals and the sentences formed by them, seem to present an exception, if not a contradiction, not only to the syntactical rule that every sentence should consist of a subject and a predicate, but also to the law of logic, according to which a judgment is composed of two members. A linguistic investigation of this problem can, therefore, not be made without seeking aid from logic and psychology, and the results of such an inquiry may help to throw light on the relation of grammar to logic, and on the psychological basis of language. We could, of course, also proceed exclusively according to the historical method by inquiring after the origin of the impersonals in general as well as in particular cases. But such an investigation, too, would have had to be assisted by psychological and logical considerations without which it would scarcely rise above a mere collection of material. Before we attempt, however, an explanation of this apparently irrational linguistic phenomenon we may do well to cast a glance at the history of the various attempts made in the direction of a solution of the problem.

Considering the fact that the principal question concerning the impersonals has always been whether the sentences formed by them contain a subject or not, we can distinguish two schools of writers on this question: those who affirm the existence of a subject and those who deny it. The supporters of the theory that a subject is contained in the impersonals, may again be

divided into different classes, according as they claim that an indefinite or a definite notion is the subject of such sentences. We are assured by many grammarians that the indefinite notion forming the subject is contained in the verbal stem of the impersonal. Thus the verb-form *curritur* is to be explained: *cursus curritur*, an explanation which appears as far back as the grammarian PRISCIAN who says: Cum dico curritur, cursus intelligo, et sedetur sessio, et evenit eventus. It is obvious, however, that this explanation is not sufficient for all impersonals and when I say *gespeist*, there can not be any doubt as to what *gespeist wird*, *das Speisen*, the verbal stem, or *die Speise*, the food.

The indefinite notion may also be supplied by other means as some grammarians think. In *ἔστι* we can add Zeus, in *ὁὐδὲν ὄραται* we can supply *ἡμέρα* and instead of *es fehlt an Geld* we can say *Geld fehlt*. But it would be very difficult to find a subject for every impersonal, and this lack of uniformity has especially displeased the philosophers who tried to find an indefinite notion which would cover all cases. Many of them believe to have found it in the indefinite *Etwas*, which they substitute for the German *es*. Thus UEBERWEG says: Niemals kann einem Urtheil und Satze das Subject völlig fehlen, wohl aber kann die bestimmte Subjectsvorstellung fehlen und anstat dessen das blossе Etwas (es) eintreten. In *es ist ein Gott*, *es gibt einen Gott*, tritt die unbestimmt vorgestellte Totalität des Seienden oder ein unbestimmter Theil desselben als Subject ein, gleichwie auch in den Sätzen: *es regnet*, etc. Similar views are represented by LOTZE who says: Wer ein impersonales Urtheil ausspricht, betrachtet den bestimmten Inhalt als haftend an einem unbestimmten Subject. Das Es in 'es blitzt' bezeichnet den allumfassenden Gedanken der Wirklichkeit, die bald so, bald anders gestaltet ist.—BRANTL, BERGMANN, WUNDT and STEINTHAL may also be named here as representatives of the same view, which we must regard as a product of philosophic speculation, but which has no support in the facts of common speech and thought.

Entirely antagonistic to this view is the opinion which holds that there is no subject contained in the impersonals. Dissatisfied with the attempts to find a subject, as mentioned above, a number of logicians and grammarians regard the impersonal as an exception in human speech, some even going so far as to require a revision of the laws of logic concerning the nature of

the judgment. Among the philosophers we find HERBART and TRENDLENBURG expressing doubt as to whether the impersonal really contains a judgment. Thus the former declares: dass das Impersonale nicht als gewöhnliches Urtheil anzusehen sei, and TRENDLENBURG regards it als ein unvollständiges Urtheil, ein Rudiment eines Urtheils.—Unconcerned about the logical consequences, grammarians like HEYSE, GRIMM and BENFEY have declared that the impersonals do not possess a subject. They were recently joined by MIKLOSICH whose book, 'Subjectlose Sätze,' caused the whole discussion to be opened again with renewed energy. His position was defended by A. MARTY in an essay: "Ueber subjectlose Sätze und das Verhältniss der Grammatik zu Logik und Psychologie" in the *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Philosophie*, viii, 56 ff. The results which MIKLOSICH and MARTY apparently had reached by their investigations were, however, attacked and refuted by W. SCHUPPE in an essay on "Subjectlose Sätze" in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie* and in the most interesting and instructive monograph by SIGWART: "Die Impersonalien, Eine logische Untersuchung."

A peculiar position between the two factions is occupied by PAUL in his 'Principien der Sprachgeschichte.' Making a distinction between the psychological and the logical subject of a sentence, he ascribes the former to the impersonals while he denies the existence of the latter. We shall see, however, in the course of this paper which will attempt to supplement SIGWART's logical discussion by linguistic considerations, to the effect that a complicated question like this can not be settled by a few remarks of an apodeictical nature, as PAUL seems to think. In view of the greater abundance of impersonals in the German language than in other European idioms, I shall take my illustrations mostly from this source.

The attempts at an explanation such as is mentioned above, are characterized by two modes of procedure, one of which we, too, might be tempted to adopt. It might be possible that the impersonals which have been preserved to us in the various languages, are the relics of a pre-historic stage of syntactical construction from which the present sentence has gradually developed. This is, however, shown to be a fruitless hypothesis by the simple fact that the impersonals are constantly increasing, not to speak of the fact that we are entirely without means to prove such a development in the languages whose history we

are able to trace. Having, therefore, to deal not with a pre-historic relic, but with a living linguistic phenomenon, still capable in the German, at least, of new formations, we might also reduce the various impersonals to their common characteristics and construct upon these an hypothesis which would explain them. Since all impersonals agree in containing either a verb; for example, *ſie, tonat, es blitzt* 'it lightens', or a noun, or an adjective with the verb to be; for example, *es iſt kalt*, 'it is cold', is it not possible to find a subject which would meet all cases though it is not expressed?

It will be remembered that the philosophers, especially, have tried the latter method without, however, reaching satisfactory results. For it has been justly remarked by SCHUPPE and SIGWART that a conclusion from that which has been expressed to that which was thought, is not admissible, since many things which are thought do not, or cannot find an expression in language. The want of an expressed subject in the impersonals is, therefore, not to be considered a proof of either its existence or its non-existence. But since we are constantly making use of impersonals we are still in the position of observing the psychological process at the basis of this peculiar syntactical construction. An investigation into this psychological process may not only solve the problem concerning the real nature of the impersonal, but it may also furnish us with a key to the understanding of its origin in the various languages.—There is no doubt that we meet in the impersonal the same psychic function which appears at the basis of all human speech, still if may not be useless to repeat here a few fundamental facts. We know that the picture of the world about us consists of representations caused by sense-impressions, representations which find their expression in the various words of the language. But in order that we may use a word to signify a certain representation, it is necessary that its meaning be known to the speaker as well as to the hearer; it is necessary that by association the word shall have become the sign of the special representation. If I use the word "man," I imply that by previous sense impressions the picture of the human form is present to my mind and that this inner, mental picture is closely connected with the word "man." Thus, the words of a language present a vast number of representations which I can reproduce in others that speak the same language, by the simple utterance of the words. But while I may thus reproduce, in the hearer, representations which

he already possesses, I am unable to impart any new knowledge by such isolated words. The latter can only be accomplished if, to the word used, a relation to some other representation is added which is originally not contained in that word. It does not make any difference whether this relation is expressed by the speaker or not; for, if it is not, it has to be supplemented by the hearer. When I pronounce the single word "march!," it will produce in your minds the representation of marching which you have previously gained by looking at soldiers or free-masons. If, however, I were to address a company of soldiers with the word "march!," the term would have still another meaning besides the representation of the idea of marching. The soldiers would supplement the notion with the concept that I also meant the command of marching. If, however, the hearer is not able to supplement by the situation the relation existing in my mind, it is necessary to express it. Hence it is evident that human speech, as far as it is a statement or the conveying of a judgment, must necessarily consist of at least two members which grammar distinguishes as subject and predicate.

While we have thus deduced the fact that the logical judgment contained in every sentence implies the existence of a subject and a predicate, we must still determine to what class of judgments the impersonals belong in order to determine their subjects. This inquiry is facilitated by the character itself of the impersonals which, as is generally conceded, express, with a very few exceptions, concrete perceptions. SIGWART in his 'Logik' has fortunately named the judgments expressing a synthesis of a perception made at this moment with the representation that I already have in my mind: *Benennungsurtheile*. Such a judgment I express, for example, when I show a friend the city in which I live and which he has never seen before, and, pointing out to him the various buildings, I say: this is the cathedral, that is the court house, etc. A similar synthesis, though the mental process is somewhat more complicated, is contained in judgments expressing a quality or an action of some object; as, for example, the apple is green, or the bird flies. This process of synthesis takes place very easily where we have to deal with phenomena, or objects, which are accessible to our observation. It becomes, however, more difficult when the object, or the phenomenon, is removed from my direct observation and I perceive only the quality, or the action.

If I notice, for example, in the twilight, a red light in the distance without being able to discern the direct cause of it, I shall say in German: *dort glänzt etwas*, the latter word taking the place of the subject required by the custom of speech in such sentences. In many cases, that part of the sentence which we call the predicate thus enters our consciousness first, and so we can understand why the Hebrew language, for example, usually places the predicate before the subject. And here we also find the explanation for the syntactical construction, peculiar to the German language, according to which the pronoun *es* precedes the real subject of the sentence. This *es*, therefore, not only contains the consoling assurance that the speaker, or writer, will not leave us without a subject but it reflects the secret logical power of the German idiom which demands a subject before the predicate. Sentences like *es lächelt der See*, *es steht ein Baum*, etc., are, however, not strictly impersonals, nor is the *es* necessarily required here. This can be seen from the early writings of GOETHE who, following the advice of HERDER, left it out in many cases; as, for example, in: *Sah ein Knab ein Röslein stehn*. Other instructive examples for the psychological origin of the impersonals are furnished by the sensations of hearing and of smell, which, without the aid of sight or touch, leave us in doubt as to their cause. And this uncertainty or indefiniteness again finds its expression by the pronoun *es*; as, for example, in sentences like: *es rauscht*, *es riecht*, *es tönt*, etc. SIGWART, in his monograph mentioned above, has proved conclusively, according to my opinion, that in all of these cases we have a synthesis of a subject and its qualities, or actions, though the representation of this subject may frequently be confused, or we may, for convenience sake, omit to express it.

There are, however, cases in which the representation of the subject is not only confused, or indefinite, but absolutely obscure, and these examples have served as a proof to those who deny the existence of a subject in the real impersonals. Again: SCHUPPE and especially SIGWART have made it evident that in these impersonals the quality, or the action, which we notice, without regard to the subject of its cause, becomes the subject of the statement, or judgment. SIGWART uses the following illustration: when I hear a knocking at the door, I know very well that somebody wishes to come in, and, in case I wish to direct the attention to the cause of the knocking, I shall say: *Jemand klopft*. But when I say: *es klopft*, I simply wish to

state that the noise which I heard was a knocking without regard to the knocker. It is evident from this, that occurrences, or conditions, which make a sense impression on us, may themselves become the subject of a statement; thus, the impersonal *tonat* means nothing but the statement that what I have just heard is thunder, and the pronoun *es* in the German, *es donnert*, has no other significance than that of the demonstrative *das* in the sentence *das ist Donner*.—It is scarcely necessary to state that these impersonals present the same synthesis which SIGWART calls *Benennungsurtheile*. Various classes of impersonals may be distinguished as belonging under this head, having originated psychologically in the same way. It is the idea of motion without regard to its direct cause which finds its expression in impersonals like: *es wimmelt*, *es strömt nach der Kirche*, etc. The same idea is expressed in impersonals describing the movements of water, or the ocean; as, for example, *Es brandet*, *es tobt*, *es wallet und siedet und brauset und zischt*, etc.

Another class of impersonalia belonging here is composed of those impersonals which are found in the passive, and in which the significance of the pronoun *es* is made evident by its entire omission; for example, *Erst wurde gespielt, dann getanzt und schliesslich gespeist*.—A third class of impersonals of the same logical and psychological character is formed by those which describe conditions of our body and soul; for example, *es friert mich*; *es hungert mich*; *Es ist mir, ich weiss nicht wie*; *mir grauts*, *mich drängts*, etc. We must look for the psychological origin of these impersonals in the fact, that in the various states of feeling of which we become conscious, we appear ourselves to be passive, and hunger, fear, wonder, etc., seem to attack us like hostile powers. The contradiction between the customary forms of language and the real state of things becomes quite evident in these cases. For the mere question: *Was hungert mich, dürstet mich, graut mir*, etc., for which there is no answer, shows the ridiculousness of the presumption that *es* took here the place of a subject. These impersonals simply affirm that the state of being hungry, thirsty, etc., takes place in my particular case as we can still see from the English equivalents: I am hungry, I am thirsty, I am afraid, etc.

A similar logical and psychological process may be found in the impersonals referring to the weather, to the changes of day and night, of the seasons and other periods of time, all of which

denote the occurrence of a phenomenon in a certain space, or at a certain period of time. In the impersonals "it rains," "it snows," "it hails," etc., the collective nature of the phenomenon, that is, the mass of rain drops, snow flakes, etc., makes it impossible to speak of a single cause as being the subject of these sentences. It is, on the contrary, just this collective character of the phenomena which appears in the verbs of the impersonal sentences. It is impossible to enter here into a discussion of those impersonals which express the idea of existence, or the opposite; the idea of want, of necessity, etc. Against the assertions of HERBART and BRENTANO, SIGWART has proved conclusively that the idea of existence, or non-existence, asserted of an object must necessarily be considered a predicate, and that impersonals expressing this idea have to be regarded as logical judgments composed of the two regular sentence-numbers: subject and predicate. The only variation between these impersonals and those discussed before, consists in the difference of the process of thinking which is at the basis of both. There can scarcely be any doubt that the same psychological and logical process which we can still observe in the use of the impersonals, were also effective when they first originated. We have no reason to believe that the fundamental laws of human thinking which found its expression in language have been different from the modes practiced at any early period of speech. And the method of linguistic research which throws light upon earlier formations of the language by the investigation of present speech phenomena should, above all, be applied in the case of the impersonals.

From our previous discussion it will probably have been made clear, that in every case we have before us a logical judgment consisting of the two necessary sentence members whether the subject is expressed or not. Our psychological considerations have, on the other hand, shown us how it was possible either to omit the statement of the subject entirely, or to conceal it under the indefinite pronoun *it*, *es*, *il*, Sl. *vono*, or have it bound up in the simple third person singular, as in Latin and Greek. Taking for granted that words like fire! murder! march! in certain situations must be considered full sentences, we might suppose that forms like *pluit*, *tonat*, *ὕει ἀστράνται*, *βροντᾷ* were originally used in a similar sense. But here the question arises, why was the third person singular chosen for this purpose and not the infinitive, which is really used in forms

like *aufsitzen*, *laufen*, etc. It has been claimed, that, because in several languages the third person singular appears without an ending, the existence of such an ending in other languages was not sufficient proof of the existence of a subject. But whether it had an ending or not, some form of the verb must have been used for the third person singular as long as human thinking makes a distinction between the first, second and third persons. Considering the concrete nature of the impersonals, as well as the concrete nature of early human thought, it seems to me that this mode of impersonal expression has gradually arisen from personal constructions. Glancing over the impersonals of the ancient languages, we find side by side with those describing natural phenomena such as are the result of most complicated psychological processes; as, for example, beside $\tilde{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota$, $\beta\rho\omicron\nu\tau\tilde{\alpha}$ *tonat*, *pluit*, etc., $\chi\rho\eta$, $\delta\epsilon\iota$, *oportet*, *vacat*, etc. But it must certainly be considered a remarkable fact that HOMER, besides having very few impersonals never uses $\tilde{\upsilon}\epsilon\iota$, $\beta\rho\omicron\nu\tau\tilde{\alpha}$, etc., without their subject Zeus, while HERODOTUS always substitutes $\acute{\omicron}$ $\Sigma\epsilon\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$. We seem to be able to follow here the gradual disappearance of that imaginative mythological view of the world making room little by little for a more rationalistic mode of conception, which, finally, in the impersonals leaves out the mythological subject as the representer of the frequent phenomena of nature. A similar course of development may also have taken place in the case of those impersonals whose subject at an earlier stage may also have been a mythological power; as, for example, in the impersonals expressing the idea of necessity and of development. Greek $\delta\epsilon\iota$, $\gamma\iota\gamma\nu\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$, Lat. *oportet*, *fit*, Goth. *vairþan*, *skulan*.

Having gradually omitted their original subject and presenting only the third person singular of the verbal stem, these forms may easily have become the model for statements in which the outward phenomenon was vividly felt, while the cause was equally as obscure as it had become in the case of the phenomena of nature. There is no reason to prevent us from supposing that conditions of feeling should now have suggested themselves quite easily, as we can see from the Latin *me pudet*, *piget*, *poenitet*, *taedet atque miseret*. As I know that I am here treading upon the unsafe ground of hypotheses, my supposition may, nevertheless, gain probability by an analogy from the German. In Gothic we have, comparatively, very few impersonals agreeing in character with those of the Latin and Greek languages. But while the religious nature of the Gothic litera-

ture makes it difficult to penetrate into the origin of these forms, we still find, in the present impersonals referring to phenomena of nature, mythological reminiscences similar to those in Latin and Greek. Such personifications are still to be noticed in a vague phantom-like form when speaking of the sky, *es bewölkt sich, klärt sich auf, es besinnt sich ob es regnen will*, or when describing a strong wind we say, *es wület*. These conceptions appear more clearly, however, in the language of the nursery where the children still say: *Der liebe Gott donnert, fährt mit seinem Wagen im Himmel, regnet*, etc. *Der wilde Jäger wület*, etc.

The Gothic shows that *rignan* 'to rain' is among the few impersonals and this seems to make it probable that *rigneip*, 'it rains,' like *vet* and *pluit*, gradually lost its subject and thus, together with similar expressions, became the model of the numerous impersonals of the present German, and it is not a strange fact that the Hebrew, for example, contains almost no impersonals despite its inclination to begin the sentence with the predicate. This tendency offered sufficient logical and psychological reasons for the development of impersonal expressions, but it seems to me that, religious considerations forbidding any theological, polytheistic personifications, there was not room for a development similar to that of other languages which ascribed these phenomena of nature to various deities. In single cases of modern German impersonals, we are still in the position of proving their origin from personal syntactic constructions. Thus, we can see how the impersonals *es gibt, es gebricht*, were originally used in their concrete sense with a subject with *geben*-produce, *gebrechen*-having a break. Gradually the idea expressed by the verbs became detached from a special subject and by a process of abstraction they developed into impersonals. If the theory is true that the impersonals have originated from a personal construction, there cannot be any doubt that the German pronoun *es* affected originally the lost, or omitted, subject, but gradually degenerated into its present logical insignificance which we discovered above. J. GRIMM ('Wörterbuch' iii, 11, 12,) seems to have recognized the former fact when he says: *Die Sprache bediente sich des dem Neutrum überhaupt eingepflanzten Begriffes der Unbestimmtheit um das nur Andeutbare, Unbekannte oder Geheime zu bezeichnen*.

SIGWART has objected to the supposition that the neuter was especially fit to signify the *Unbekannte*, since it was always used

in common-speech usage as representing something known and definite. He is certainly right that the neuter, as such, does not contain the idea which GRIMM seems to find in it. There can not be any doubt, however, that the poetical use of the impersonal and the pronoun *es* still reflects the reminiscence that *es* has taken the place of something mysterious and unknown. And having taken this place, *es* assumes in itself the idea of the mysterious, the effect of which is very well known to poets. There is absolutely no means in the German language by which GOETHE could have produced this effect in his celebrated *Hochzeitslied*, describing the movements of the dwarfs:

Da pfeift es, und geigt es und klinget und klirrt,
Da ringelts und schleift es und rauschet und wirrt,
Da pisperts und knisterts und flisterts und schwirrt.

A like instructive example of this poetical usage of the impersonals is furnished by SCHILLER'S "Taucher." Here, however, the more modern and abstract character of the impersonal prevails. In *es wallet und siedet und brauset und zischt*, the accent is laid not so much on the mysterious *es* but rather on the various forms of action indicated by the verbs. I have found that the impersonal is strongly represented in lyric poetry since the sixteenth century. Of three hundred and fifty-two popular songs in UHLAND'S collection, sixty begin with an impersonal; of six hundred and sixty in BÖHME'S 'Altdeutsche Liederbuch,' one hundred and fifty-one belong to the same class.

II.—*Italian Poetry and Patriotism at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century.**

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The subject of the present paper was chosen some time ago. As to why a preference was shown for this and not for something touching on the better known, more widely appreciated French and German, would lead me to answer with as much justice, but perhaps the same amount of human nature, as that other enlightened citizen of another free country: "I am tired of hearing Aristides called the Just"—weary of learning that in spite of Volapük, the revised English *e tutti quanti*, French is still the language of the world, Parisian the language of the Gods; worn out by the constant refrain, that German is the "Open-Sesame" to all questions, physical, metaphysical, theological, psychical. This feeling is legitimate not only with me, as MONTAIGNE says, "simply because *il* is *il* and *I* am *I*" but from a wider point of view, including all who sympathize with struggling humanity, and the above-named title suggests a question replete with interest for its historical importance as well as its literary claims and one that cannot fail to be attractive; for, what was Italy's literary position at the beginning of this century, when England, Germany, France, even Spain and America were sending into the arena champion after champion who recoiled before no question the human brain can propound? What could be expected of a country overrun by foreign troops, split up into petty states, down-trodden and oppressed, without authority in the councils of Europe, without commerce, without colonies? Could it ever repeat its superb record, still retain the ancient stamp and not belie LEOPARDI'S proud claim, "*Ancor per forza italiana si noma, quanto ha più grande la mortal natura?*"

It is a peculiar privilege indeed, to belong to the present time

*In the notices on the five most important Italian writers of the period specified, I have been guided, where individual opinion proved unsatisfactory, principally by native critics. This plan, faulty as it may seem, since it purposely excluded very reputable foreign authorities was adopted for several reasons, but, mainly, to force myself to be consistent with the title of this paper, so far at least as to study from a national standpoint the Italian public sentiment with regard to the patriotism of the poets and the influence their writings exercised upon the fortunes of their mother country.

and thus be enabled to address an audience representing more particularly the broad-mindedness and tolerance, characteristic of our favored age and people. With all due deference to "the good old times," the above qualities were not prominent in the catalogue of their chief virtues, and should unkind fate thrust me back sixty years or more, I would probably hesitate to quote the Italian poet's words. They would sound to ears prejudiced unfavorably, as the empty bombast of a heated southern brain and not like the just claim of conscious merit. When he lived, the name of Italy awakened in the hearts of foreigners generally little more than a pitying feeling akin to contempt, and called up little more action than an expressive shrug of the shoulders. It is the singular prerogative of the Anglo-Saxon race, I believe, to be narrower than others in its judgments concerning foreign people, and, however much the Briton's unworthy descendant may have departed lately in this respect from the type of his ancestor, the old-time American in the twenties and thirties of this century, sturdily upheld his nationality and disclaimed all connection with "foreign trash." The native of this broad land, whether claiming lineage from Plymouth Rock or Pocahontas, found its pattern in the Boston dame who took the return packet from Liverpool because she would not live in a country where she was called a "furriner." A wonderful psychological process was doubtless involved in the gradual conversion of the real foreign type into the ideal bugaboo of home manufacture. The intellectual worth, the heroic qualities of other nations, appreciated by a few, were unknown to the mass or fell within the shadow of grotesque caricatures, the hideous offspring of prejudice and ignorance. But *nous avons changé tout ça*, and with a vengeance sometimes, amply atoning for the errors of our forefathers by fondly hugging the idea that six weeks among the Cockneys, or a trip up the Rhine, may have undone the work of seventy-six and converted us into the poorest of poor creatures, the counterfeit Briton, or bogus German. In spite of this, however; in spite of the exaggerations of fashion, the bombast and self-glorification common to all countries, the lingering affection for the antiquated personalities of Mossoo, Milor Smit, the burgher of Pumpnickel and for that incomprehensible United-States citizen of recent English novels, with a vernacular, known perhaps in the tower of Babel but certainly no where else, tolerance and good sense have overthrown the high walls of doubt and prejudice; the man of the

present admits the fact of excellence existing beyond the limits of his own narrow state, as his more cultivated intellect is ready to acknowledge its obligations to the very races his forefathers with inherited stubbornness had continued to despise. That this is mainly due to the propagation of education, the extensive study of foreign languages and the modern facilities for travel cannot be doubted. But there is still a deeper interest attached to this semi-unification of the nations of the earth, inasmuch as the spirit of the age makes each demonstration of regard, whether grotesque or sublime, the singularly pathetic interpreter of a sympathy that comes within its humanity, to the realization of that divine promise that some day there will be universally felt and shown by man "Good will to all men."

It is, therefore, with confidence borrowed not from my own conceit that I trust to find ready appreciation from an American audience for my subject, since it concerns a portion of Italian literature, which, apart from its own intrinsic merits, represents a people that labored patiently, fought desperately, and suffered much in the attainment of that personal liberty and national independence so dear to all true men. In the development of the subject, it will be noticed that the discussion,—although mainly restricted to the patriotic element in the poetry of the first quarter of this century, unsupported as it is by characteristic extracts and almost stripped of technical criticisms,—is not intended to run upon a purely literary question, but rather aims at viewing the literature of the times in a broader sense; namely, as the result of that mental activity which properly becomes the voice of a nation and is apt to influence, or be influenced by, the political and social condition of the people and period it represents. Nowhere in the history of literature, is the fact of this mutual dependence more strongly accentuated than in the best Italian poetry of the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries.

A tremendous necessity dimly shadowed in the minds of the people and handed down as a precious heir-loom from past ages, had become the principal inspiration of chosen spirits under whose interpretation the dominant idea received shape, color, expression in a multiplicity of forms, but all calculated to influence and educate the nation's character. It would be a difficult task and far beyond the scope of this paper to subject the period to minute dissection, and draw therefrom conclusions as to how much the peculiar turn of events is indebted to the inter-

vention of individuals, or how the ideas of gifted minds precipitate revolutions in thought and politics. A generalization of facts, however, drawn from a study of the Italian writers of the times leads inevitably to the conclusion that, whether of the classical, arcadian or romantic schools, they nearly all seem actuated by one absorbing desire: the establishment of Italian independence, or at least of Italian unity—the idea with which are associated the greatest and most revered names since DANTE and which had united so many diverse epochs with one thought, one hope. Whether expressed in the ‘*de Monarchia*,’ in the ‘*Principe*,’ in the ‘*Tirranide*,’ or in the tragic and lyric poetry of the present century; whether it meant something shadowy and immaterial, a restoration purely idealistic built upon wild conceptions of what liberty meant—is certainly not to the point. The idea corresponds to the national sentiment, whose watch-words were ever the same: Italy, Unity.

Che libera tutta,
O fia serva fra l’Alpi e il mare,
Una d’arme, di lingua, d’altare.
Di memorie, di sangue, di cor.

A review of the Italian literature of the first thirty years of this century in connection with the historical occurrences of that eventful period and the social condition of the nation, immediately suggests the accompanying question, as to how much public depression and national slavery affect the productions of the brain, and whether any mental activity can exist under the scorching glance of an iniquitous Inquisition.

Other countries, other customs. In colder climes, the upheavals from an existing state of things may produce a semi-paralization of the higher faculties. Physical energy in periods of violence apparently absorbs the attention of the most gifted individuals, as in times of oppression they sink into a mortal lethargy. But, at no epoch in the history of France, Italy and even Spain, if we except the interval of anarchy immediately following the downfall of the Roman Empire and the overwhelming avalanche of the French revolution, no period in the literary history of those countries is marked by total literary stagnation. The end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth were striking examples of this. It appeared as if the elastic Italian mind could not be compressed out of shape by any oppressive rule, nor did the native shrewdness of that remarkable race give way entirely to the intoxica-

tion of the Napoleonic era; yet, it would be strange indeed if the vicissitudes of Italy's uncertain existence had not given a peculiar tone to its literature; for, at no other time does popular opinion, even in the face of the tyrannical Bourbon, or worse Austrian, more deeply agitate the question of the moral and civil condition of man. Whether it appears covered by the silver-gilt sentimentality of the Metastasian, or boldly exposed in the virile accents of ALFIERI and FOSCOLO, there is ever the very evident stamp of regeneration, the desire at least, to cast off the hampering shell of moral and civil slavery. Through every expression of thought, deep or frivolous, gay or serious, runs a golden thread, invisible to all save those who felt the absorbing interest binding Italian hearts in one great brotherhood.

The political, social and literary history of Italy embraced between 1785 to 1830, should be divided into two periods and according to the predominant ideas and historical events growing out of the times. The first, roughly estimated, ranges from 1785 to 1800, and the second includes the career of Napoleon and continues up to the French July revolution. No two epochs so closely joined could be more diametrically opposed, or stand out against each other in stronger contrast. In the first, appears the Metastasian world made up principally of the errors, the narrowness, the preposterous pretensions of a semi-feudal aristocracy without power, and the debasement of a populace without will or hope;—a society, gay, artificial, thoughtless, to all appearance hurrying on to ruin, talking of feudal privileges, claiming heroic qualities and trying to forget its real insignificance in the frivolous pursuits of petty court life. This period, preceding as it did the great battles of the Revolution, has been considered, nevertheless, a time of rest for laboring Italy, as if to give her breath to pass through the marvellous events which were impending. It was also an epoch of reforming princes who, pushed forward by the philosophic and social doctrines emanating from France, entered with the church into a mortal struggle which lead to the sacrifice of the latter's strongest supporters—the Jesuits. These events, however, of such signal importance to Italy's future, passed over the land without awakening special interest among the people. The bulk of the population gave itself up to enjoyment of the material advantages of a comparatively peaceful respite. The upper classes, prinked, powdered and bewigged, continued to exist in the vapid illusions which a cor-

responding court literature generated. Everything with them seemed to be reduced to puff, powder, paint, train, wig, sword, shepherd-crooks and flutes. Dame and gallant, passing the lives of Sybarites, only relieved the monotony of their idyllic masquerading by indulging in classic reminiscences: the former would claim the virtue of Lucretia and the nobility of Cornelia, while the latter cried lustily as he tapped his jewelled snuff-box, "I am the son of Marcus Cato, a foe to tyrants, and my country's friend."

It would be unjust however to stigmatize this period, which was also that of GOLDONI as being devoid of literary worth, or of having entirely arrested the steady evolution of the Italian national character. Side by side with the false tinsel, was a golden element at work in thought or action, which constantly brought into play the more solid qualities of the Italian intellect. GOETHE, in his travels, deplores the absence in his own country of the numerous Academies and Literary Institutions he visited in Italy. Such illustrious testimony will suffice to show that a reaction had set in; the sentimental naiads and dryads, the eternal Daphnes and Chloes had not failed to satiate the public taste. The intellectual life of Europe found its way into the parlors, the theatres, the Academies of Italy. The dim heroes of the northern mists disputed with the natural man of ROUSSEAU; the Clarissas and Pamelas danced hand in hand with the Orosmans and the Tancreds; the hurly-burly of ideas crossed and recrossed the land. Every one philosophized, and gravely exposed a theory without its ever occurring to any one, however, to apply the lesson to his own condition. Such was the Arcadian simplicity, withal that one might be led to echo Capaneo's "it were a pity to bring revolutions upon them;" it was the necessary prologue, the mental gymnastics of a nation preparing unconsciously for greater things. Without the political agitation of subsequent events, it might have deteriorated into fruitless dilettanteism; as it was, it prevented the Italians from sinking into mental apathy, as the only fitting counterpart to their political nullity. No very profound knowledge of history is necessary to get at the cause of this political weakness.

The sneering remark of an English Premier, early in this century, that Italy's unification would be a disturbing element to the peace of Europe, was after all a concise way of stating a policy adopted towards her by other countries from the early middle ages down. After the peace of Acquisgrana, the rulers

of the petty Italian States found themselves strengthened and, stubbornly adhering to the already exploded idea of royal infallibility, clung tenaciously to the paternal form of government. They could scarcely be called, in the Washingtonian sense, fathers of their country; but considering their foreign origin in many instances, step-fathers of a country of some one else. Paternal government, aye! but scarcely of the kind existing in the German Fatherland and so comically exaggerated by HEINRICH HEINE. There, the paternal Majesty, Highness, Potent Serenissimus, or Durchlaucht, could pull his night-cap over his eyes, and put out his light with the complacent feeling that his bit of a candle would light him safely to bed for many a night to come, and that his head and night-cap would nod "good morning, my children," to ever obedient and humble subjects. In Italy, the prince was not so "sûr de son fait;" he never pulled his night-cap over his eyes; one eye, at least, had to do sentinel duty. He never knew where his head might be pilloled the following night and therefore took precautions accordingly. It was, as may be imagined, on one side a step-father's care with a greedy eye on the children's property; on the other side, the passive, unloving obedience of sullen children waiting patiently for the parent's death.

The Napoleonic era swept over the land like a tornado, a revelation to some, a realization of prophecy to others, bringing destruction to the rotten fabric of antique conditions, shaking Italy out of the deadly apathy into which she threatened to sink, and filling her youth with a tempestuous enthusiasm for glory, freedom and hope. With what result? Upon the burning fields of their own country and amidst the snows of Russia, they found glory, not their own. In the selfish policy craftily hidden by the military despot, they found freedom in fetters. In the downfall of that very power which constantly fed their national aspirations with great promises, they found their hopes deceived. But do not miscalculate the beneficent results of the Napoleonic revolution. Whatever the intention of that phenomenon in his grasp after self-aggrandisement, Divine Providence carrying out his own inscrutable purposes, provided that the corrupt seed, sown in blood, should produce golden fruit.

When the Imperial eagle fell, never to rise again, at Waterloo; the vultures swooped back upon their victim and prepared to tear fair Italy limb from limb, but they no longer found the passive, half-inanimate form yielding with cowardly submission,

where it thought resistance vain—no; Bourbon and Austrian brought back, it is true, the axe, the rope—the emblems of their rule—but they found the Italians, not as they had left them a few years back, a race no longer composed of frivolous courtier, truckling burgher and stolid serf, but of men with a positive if confused notion of the dignity of manhood: men who, for twenty years past, had fought in the name of liberty and glory upon every red field of Europe, men who had felt deep in their hearts the true lessons of the French Revolution when stripped of its horrors, and remembered, as they would, the names of loved ones long forgotten, that the magic watchwords, *Italy unite*, had been in olden times the melodious key-note struck by the hands of poet and sage, upon the harp strung with the heart-chords of Italy. And what part did the poets and writers of this period have in the popular movement? It is no fanciful exaggeration of feeling that induces one to attribute the chief merit of the achievement of Italian liberty to the gifted few who, with superb talents or divine genius, instilled their own spirits into all grades and, with persistent, self-sacrificing courage, repeated to them the sublime lessons of national regeneration. CHARLES ALBERT, VICTOR EMMANUEL, GARIBALDI, CAVOUR and many others, heroes and statesmen, in the days of active measures, consummated the work and realized the hopes of ages. This never would have been; they never would have succeeded, had the Italian heart and mind not been moulded by the noble band of teachers headed by ALFIERI, FOSCOLO, MANZONI and LEOPARDI.

When one turns to the literature of the first period mentioned above; namely, the one preceding the coming of BONAPARTE to Italy, one finds that the first important seceder from the ranks of the old society was ALFIERI, a gigantic personality, embodying all that had been lacking for several centuries to the Italians and that had rendered their downfall inevitable; namely, sincerity and strength of convictions. Since the time of DANTE, VITTORIO ALFIERI is the first poet to deserve the title of national; with him the pristine vigor of sentiment is regained and something more: as MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO says, "He discovered Italy as Columbus, America;" he resuscitated the conception of Italian unity, prophesied with conviction the realization of what the Italians had hitherto treated as idle dreams, and dwelt with insistence upon the certainty that "force would come to destroy what reason had already condemned." Devoid of cer-

tain faculties essential to a poet, he was urged on to labor by the "natural impulse" which, defined in his own words, "is a boiling-up in the heart and mind, for which there is never found peace nor place; an insatiable thirst to do good or gain glory; a reputing of all things done as nothing; a fiery and resolute desire, a necessity to be first among the best or to be nothing. This is the proud and divine fever of the mind and the heart from which alone can come the truly beautiful, the truly great." ALFIERI is also national because of his having given Italy the tragic theatre she lacked. His tragedies, from the moment of their appearance, were considered a great literary event, but they did not exercise at the same time the patriotic and national influence the poet had expected, and this partial failure induced him, in despair, to dedicate his labors to the future Italian people. Many circumstances conspired against the ready acceptance, or comprehension, of ALFIERI's patriotic sentiments and bold hopes. One of the principal was the absence of a capital which might have been a centre of gathering, a head-spring of thoughts and a linguistic school. The tragic Muse was not sought after or beloved by the people. If occasionally some troop, with actors collected from all sections of Italy, recited a tragedy, it was received with uproarious laughter at the comical effect of hearing Agamemnon rant in Bolognese dialect, or Pylades swear in Venetian eternal friendship to Orestes, who answered in Neapolitan. ALFIERI's own language was also severely criticised as being too inflated, too unnatural, especially when his main object was to inculcate into the minds of his hearers thoughts that were unfamiliar to them. Just or unjust he calmly answered such criticism with startling brevity: *Mi trovan duro? Anch'io lo so—Pensar li fo.*

But when ALFIERI returned from Paris in 1792, he found his tragedies on all the stages of Italy; and what concerned him more, the nation awakening to the meaning of liberty, honor and country. He has been accused of overmuch classicism when, in truth, he is but a classicist in appearance. His tragedies were written long before he became acquainted with the masterpieces of Æschylus and Sophocles. The fact of his pieces being stripped of the cumbersome personnel, the stage effects and the appurtenances of modern drama, is nothing more than another manifestation of his peculiar method. This consists in concentrating the interest upon the principal figure, which embodies the one great idea the poet aims at presenting

to his fellow-men. It is, therefore, simply a classic mask under which the modern speaks. Whatever motive may be adduced for this mode, the one most consistent with ALFIERI's character seems to point to a conscious deference to an heroic age, in an appeal to the noble characters of ancient history, to ratify his doctrines of liberty and government. The classic concentrative force can be observed in his language, but the resemblance rests exclusively upon the severe simplicity, the energy and rapidity with which the thought, unaided by ornamentation and dependent upon its native strength, is brought forth upon its own merits. No! ALFIERI did not borrow his language from the Greeks; he had upheld DANTE as his model. With the latter, however, strength is ever allied to a grace which has no place in the stern Alfierian tragedies. It could not have been ignorance, or want of poetic taste, however, because the alliance of strength and grace is found often in the more familiar style of his lyrics and letters; it arose, probably, more from a nervous irritability, a desire to say briefly and even at the risk of obscurity, what was upon his heart. Thus the dramas are all ALFIERI; in them he has breathed the fire of his political passion; he has communicated to his people his hatred, his hopes, his dreams:—colossal aspirations, only half determined in the poet's own mind, growing out of the suggestions of Italy's past, and, without regard to practical application, are fused into his hopes for Italy's future.

With rigid consistency clinging to the principal thoughts, he cares little whether, subjected to development, they may lead to the republican forms of Athens and Rome, or to the temperate order of the British constitutional government. He lacks the calm, profound glance that plunges into the science of life and reveals its secrets, nor does he possess the practical shrewdness that makes the Italian a consummate statesman; yet, with all his defects, ALFIERI was right: he gained what he aimed at. His strength lay in a sublime conviction, which, ceaselessly repeated, finally overwhelms all doubt. As a poet and as a citizen, he is the greatest Italian of his times; his heroic figure has been placed not by Italy alone, but by Europe, upon a vacant pedestal by the side of DANTE, PETRARCH, TASSO and ARIOSTO.

It was amidst the booming of cannon and the acclamations welcoming the self-styled Liberator of Italy that the Italian literature entered into the nineteenth century. All the horrors of war; the gutting of the public treasures; the wholesale plun-

der of works of art; the enormous ambition of Bonaparte, only half-concealed by the craftiness inherited from his Italian ancestry, were insufficient to quench in the Italians the delirious enthusiasm which the name of liberty awakened. As one passes from the age of fermentation, represented by ALFIERI, to that of action, it seems a natural transition, a result long foreshadowed, nor does the appearance upon the scene of a worthy successor to the great poet cause surprise. UGO FOSCOLO is said to have been, after ALFIERI, the one who exercised most influence upon the spirit of the Italian youth. He shares with ALFIERI and PARINI the glory of having regenerated the literature, and, what is better, the Italian nation. His short and brilliant career, through the vicissitudes of the kingdom of Italy; his hatred of Napoleon; his flight to England, have surrounded his life with fabulous celebrity.

LEOPARDI and FOSCOLO would form an interesting parallel study. The very antithesis of each other in character, temperament and career; the one doomed to inactivity, the other rushing audaciously through that stormy period they, nevertheless, have many points in common; in truth, to such a degree that the name of the one suggests that of the other. In both, we find demonstrated the effect of the irradicable melancholy, the *Weltschmerz*, at work upon individuals differently constituted in soul and mind. Doubtless much of this real, or perhaps self-delusive sadness, was not subjective and sprang from political disillusion, as well as from the sentimental sickliness of the times. FOSCOLO's bold spirit, however, led him to look misfortune square in the face. His lamentations are those of an unconquerable heart delighting, in danger, to feel its own strength; and he ever professed the maxim, "Misfortune refines the virtues of strong magnanimous souls:

O nati al pianto—E alla fatica, si virtù vi è guida
Dalla fonte del duol sorge il conforto."

Neither of the poets above mentioned attained his unquestioned perfection of form and style till after painful effort. LEOPARDI in his early youth, absorbed in phenomenal studies, scarcely gave his own intellect time to create; it was only after passing through various stages of intellectual progression, that he reached the plenitude of his force, and found the true Leopardian poetry. FOSCOLO likewise shows in his earliest poems the defect which, according to a noted British statesman, diminishes with every added day of one's life; namely, youth. With

him the defect was intensified by an ardent, impetuous temperament and by his being placed in the midst of activity, admiration and fame that gave him no leisure for reflection, or any possibility of sound self-criticism. His genius, however, did not wait for the tardy effects of time or the purifying, but often destructive, results of criticism. With marvellous rapidity, it passed from youthful inexperience to maturity. The change, spontaneous and sudden, seemed to proceed from an inner consciousness, co-ordinating at once the confused and scattered notions of his art. In this assertion of individuality, he stripped himself of the cumbersome Arcadian style which tripped up, even then, many of the best Italian writers. The influence of his profound classical learning made him ever cling to classic forms and deck his modern thoughts in the flowing garb of the ancients. This should be deplored as it may have established barriers to his genius and clipped his wings; it made him, however, attain a purity and suppleness unknown even to PARINI.

The curious combination found in this poet between the ancient culture, coming from his learning and æsthetic tastes, and the modern inspiration proceeding from innate character and environment, moulded itself into strong, passionate, heart-moving verses written with an almost aggravating classic purity that could derive only from the cool judgment which never forsook him in the most terrible moments. In a letter to PINDEMONTE on the subject of the artistic method and the philosophic intent to be found in the "*Carme alle Grazie*," he condenses his principal doctrines in a definition which can be applied to most of his poetical works; namely, "that he had attempted to reconcile lyric poetry with didactic, to uphold historical and mythological traditions, moral and metaphysical theories, so that his poems might be of benefit to the heart of the reader and to the mind of the artist."

Let no one suppose, however, that the poet's aspirations remained strictly within such close limits as these; his poems are not cool, metaphysical abstractions: *carme*, sonnet, sermon, or ode—all find their theme in the living questions of the day. These are treated with a never-failing enthusiasm and a warmth of expression which stirs even now, after many years, the sluggish blood within one's veins. It is not as the classic poet, or as the disciple of HOMER and DANTE, that FOSCOLO is most attractive in the eyes of posterity, but as the Warrior Bard.

"Literature became in his hands an instrument of war more than with PARINI and ALFIERI, who lived rather as spectators than as actors in the political struggle of those days. As a young man, he allowed himself to be dazzled by the promises of the French, but, soon disenchanted, he never ceased to warn the Italians against trusting the foreigners and to urge them to smother ancient discords and gather in the strength of the nation."

The classic forms were at no time stronger in Italy than when the cry of liberty rung out from one end of the country to the other. With such as FOSCOLO, MONTI and other exponents, it seemed as if the limits of the art of writing had been reached; but a change came. When Lombardy fell once more under the dominion of Austria and liberty, even in name, seemed to be killed, a fact manifested itself that the Italians explain by the law of contraries: liberty of the mind became greater in proportion as the liberty of action was restricted. It is also worthy of notice, they say, that the Romantic school had different ends in Germany and Italy. In the former, the minds of the people became for a time, at least, deadened to the recollection of the struggle for freedom, initiated by the war against Napoleon, in the contemplation of the religion and chivalry of the middle ages. In Italy, on becoming the priestess of literary innovations, Romanticism educated the spirits in the idea of political liberties.

ALEXANDER MANZONI'S name is indissolubly connected with this new school, as being its initiator even before its doctrines were known in Italy; he has defined its understanding by saying, "that poetry and literature, generally, ought to set for themselves utility as a scope, truth as a subject, and interest as a means." To use the words of ZANELLA:—

He began as a lyric poet and continued as a dramatist, historian, novelist, philosopher and philologist. The constant privilege of all his work is wisdom, the perfect accord of the faculties required in the writer, for which it is difficult to say whether Manzoni is greater in the splendor of his fancy, in the depth of his sentiment, or in the maturity of his judgment. His two tragedies, 'Carmagnola' and 'Adelchi' belong rather to the lyric than to the dramatic sphere, from the beauty and excellence of the choruses, the scarcity of action and the abundance of sentiment. To two things had the ruin of Italy been attributed: internal discord and the hope placed in the foreigner. In the 'Carmagnola' the first is deplored and in the 'Adelchi,' the second. Manzoni had a profound knowledge of the history of

Italy and intended that the stage should become a school for the people, as Alfieri had sought to make it a battle-field against tyrants, and he introduced with that idea an exactness, a fidelity to real events which stirred up adverse criticism on the part of Goethe who contended that popular traditions were better suited to drama.

MANZONI, on the other hand, says, with reason perhaps, when we remember his main object, that the people should know true history and not the legend. A fine question could be debated here with regard to the relative merits of the legend and history as applied to the arts—a question that would insensibly glide into a consideration of what *is* legend and what *is* history, and whether the one is not often as good as the other as long as you believe it. This is dangerous ground and we retire with the reminder, that all who have read the recent war papers in the *Century* and find in every instance, that both sides won, especially *our* side, may well doubt the infallibility of history written by the most conscientious men.—It was in reflecting upon the sad events of 1821, and passing in his mind the private and public wretchedness of those times, that the idea occurred to MANZONI to make the unhappy condition of his people the subject of a romance. After five years of deep study of the laws and constitution of the gloomy seventeenth century; after having studied his localities carefully and gathered a wonderful store of domestic scenes and a perfect treasure of familiar language, he produced the greatest of his works, the 'Promessi Sposi.' It may be appropriate to recall here the opinion of GOETHE on this wonderful work:—

"Four elements," he says in his colloquies with ECKERMANN, "concur to makè Manzoni's romance so excellent. Manzoni in the first place is a superb historian; thus the *poem* acquires a dignity and solidity, which places it far above the books which claim the name of romances. The Catholic religion, besides, has rendered him a great service, by placing before him many poetic situations, which a Protestant might not have. In the third place, *his soul had suffered much in the political movements in Italy against the foreigner*, and although he has not entered into the struggle, he has, nevertheless, witnessed the miseries of many of his friends. Finally, a favorable thing for the romance, the action is developed in the beautiful regions of Lake Como, which the poet knew from his childhood and whose natural features were ever fresh to him, like family scenes; thus, there is a clearness of design in the places described, which is not the least merit of his work."

Again, the great German said, that MANZONI's romance sur-

passed anything known of its kind. In a comparison between MANZONI and WALTER SCOTT, CHATEAUBRIAND says:—

In the former, there is something more than in the latter. An Italian commenting on the above opinion has developed it as follows;—the Scotch writer aims principally at pleasing the reader; his fancy and his coloring are marvellous, but they do not make a deep impression on the soul. He has the qualities of Ariosto, his favorite author, less the refined irony, in which Manzoni is equal to the Ferrarese poet. Moreover, the Italian has raised the romance to the dignity of a poem which embraces in its immense limits all human conditions and all those of the soul. He does not, as is often the case with the Scot, surprise the reader with the peculiarity of the events; Manzoni seeks universal beauty in common circumstances, and in the story of two young peasants he weaves the history of all that century with a simplicity of narration and with a naturalness of observation unequalled by any work ancient or modern. In the 'Promessi Sposi,' you pass from the events of private to those of public life; from peasants to princes; from assassins to prelates; from peace to sedition; from innocence to misdeed; from the monastery to the tavern; from love to terror; from marriage to death, and always without an effort, always with a quiet serenity of judgment, which, in all the great and small events of life, adores the designs of providence.

PIETRO GIORDANI exclaimed that he would like it to be read in Italy "a Dan usque ad Nephtale," preached in all the churches and in all the hostelryes, and learnt by heart. The seeming irreverent tone of this admiration may be explained away by the knowledge that in Italy it is called the 'Iliad of Christianity.' The bold declaration of faith it contains, is not its least attractive side, coming, as it did, at a period when the Christian religion was still suffering from the wounds inflicted by its many enemies in the last century. A volume which, upon every page, leads one to love and reverence faith, virtue, home, charity, pardon and resignation, is well worth the elaborate works of a VOLTAIRE when, disguised in the garb of liberty and tolerance, they preach doctrines that led to anarchy, public and private dishonor. MANZONI justly calculated the most important scope of the romance, resting it upon the well grounded belief that noble thoughts and valuable precepts can be disseminated through its agency with greater ease than by means of a book of philosophic, or religious precepts.

The limits and object of this paper will not permit one more than to touch upon MANZONI's linguistic theories, although one might find their connection with the subject under discussion in

the maxim he ever entertained, that the unity, independence and culture of Italy could never attain completeness until the Italian language could be declared one and indivisible. For the attainment of this, he advocated the adoption of the Florentine exclusively, in opposition to the opinion of numerous writers and philologists who contended that the language of Italy must proceed from all its sections, that the best writers from all parts should be consulted not only for the purpose of purifying and elevating the national idiom, but as the truest manifestation of the unification of Italy. In the application of his linguistic theories to the revised edition of the '*Promessi Sposi*,' MANZONI has not always been happy in his corrections, although, on the whole, the elimination of much that was pure Lombard has been considered by competent critics of advantage to the work and to its numerous readers.—MANZONI is, altogether, considered by the Italians the greatest of their modern writers. This greatness, they say, rests upon the direction he has given to their literature, and upon the claim that no other one has done more for his country or his religion.

While MANZONI gave impulse to a new school of poetry and rallied around him such leaders as GROSSI, BERCHET and SILVIO PELLICO, there lived in the marches of Ancona "a delicate, studious youth, as yet only recommendable for profound erudition, but destined to become the greatest luminary of the classic school." It must be ever with mingled feelings of sadness and delight that the sympathetic reader turns to GIACOMO LEOPARDI as one who suffered in this life from nature, despair and poverty, a triple tyranny which persecuted him till an early death freed his body from pain and answered the questions that tortured his poor soul. This history is a pregnant illustration of the sad reality, that in the dual nature of man, the higher with its complex attributes can be subjected to a more than physical torture by the ills of the flesh, and that under the wasting influence of black despair, the moral faculties, the religious instincts and even the intellect are weakened till man passes by easy transition from the comfort of religious faith and the confidence in his fellow man to the wretchedness of doubt. The subjective evil becomes objective, is communicated in fancy to the world and creates in the sufferer's mind a system. What might seem a heartless analysis, a prying into the intimate life of a great man, is often a necessary psychological study, and is justified, in this case, by the fact that, outside of

the state of organization, there were considerations which, taken in connection with it, may explain the despairing tone in the writings of this extraordinary and unfortunate being.

Sensitive, loving, pure as a stainless maiden, he was possessed of a sickliness of spirit engendered by a morbid contemplation of self till, finally, he gave himself up to the "ferocious voluptuousness" of doubt, trying, and perhaps in vain, to smother the very whisperings of hope. For LEOPARDI was not a *pessimiste d'apparat*; he lived and died in conformity with his sad doctrine, in evident contrast with the totally theoretical despair of those philosophers who have governed so well their lives and administered at once the temporal and the spiritual offices. He asks himself the terrible question of the *utility of life*, as if the many generations of men had come into the world only to vanish, like the waters passing on, leaving no trace behind and going—whither? He would have nothing to do with the mysteries of a faith he had abandoned; but his revolt was only half-hearted, devoid of Promethean defiance. If he did not bend his head, he never sneered at the mystery of the cross; 'tis not the cold atheist who thinks to abdicate his own throne in acknowledging the supremacy of a God, nor the temporizer who keeps his God on hand within call and, like Louis XI, places him in a closet lest he discover too much villainy. Unlike his contemporary, SCHOPENHAUER, he had not reduced theories to an inexorable system, advocating universal destruction. It was only in the blackest moments that he proclaims the irredeemable and the fatal with the desperation of his Brutus. These moments past, he becomes essentially humanitarian and would constitute himself the apostle of human fraternity and solidarity, in order to propagate a species of stoicism, and preach that by combination of effort the evils of this existence can be mitigated. He would have us understand that his philosophic system can be resumed in the formula: "I am, consequently I suffer,"—but whoever looks closer, sees LEOPARDI "nearer faith than science," almost envying those who believe in God and in the immortality of the soul.

In vain, he tried to oppose to the blind effort of matter a stoic resignation, when he uttered the heart-rendering cry: "I am weary of life, I have no other hope but in death;" with the same inconsistency he clings desperately to the existence he abhorred. There, again, in the lack of stability, in the irrational outbursts of impatience, in the eternal scoldings at Providence for not con-

centrating the rays of His sunshine upon his existence, one can see, though dimly, the half-hearted doubter. But what is the common property of ordinary mortals, passed unrecognized by this prodigy of genius? He lost sight of what constitutes the two apparently antagonistic principles so admirably reconciled in the Christian religion: man's enfranchisement from the world and man in his direct responsibility to God, and the imposed duties of practical religion manifested by works.

It would be unjust not to mention further, in defense of the sad poet, his poverty, his disillusion and vain longings. Only too often repeated in the world's book of shame, is the tale of woe caused by poverty. LEOPARDI in this respect could stand by the side of CERVANTES: like the latter, he is the subject of volume after volume of commentary and criticism; whereas, during his lifetime, it occurred to few that the mortal must precede the immortal. With feeble body racked by constant pain; with mind tormented by unanswered questions; with heart panting for the love that never came, this man was confronted daily for many years by the dread reality of want—want that mercilessly pulled down his highest aspirations. Poverty, they say, is not disgraceful, *soit*, but at least it is bad,—bad when it attacks the humble being thinking alone of the physical necessities of life. Judge how ghastly its effects, when it flings heavy chains around the necks of those whom God seems to have singled out as leaders of men. Again, if it be true that the higher organizations with their more elevated conception of ideals feel proportionally the non-attainment of them, we can understand, if not explain, the cankerous sorrow which gnawed at LEOPARDI'S sensitive heart. In common with the youth of Italy, he had entertained bright expectations for the welfare of his country, and, although his patriotism is idealistic, expressed in burning verses, it did not fail of its effect upon the impressionable sons of Italy. In this, LEOPARDI deserves a place of honor by the side of PARINI, ALFIERI, MANZONI, FOSCOLO and BERTHET. But soon face to face with the misfortunes of his country, either miscalculating the progress of national emancipation, or giving way to his fatalistic distemper, he ceased to share the confidence of those noble patriots and remained sceptical and discouraged. He did more. Carried away by bitter disappointment he turned gloomily to the past to seek the glorious record which, to him, Italy's future could never repeat.—Why dwell upon the gloomy side of LEOPARDI'S life,

but that it is the most prominent, and invests him with an interest which his career as a philologist, or even as a poet, could never have awakened. In the touching words of the Attic Philosopher: "Sad progress and perhaps great lesson. Who knows whether a readier yielding to the one who rules the world, would not have spared him that anguish. Perhaps happiness is only possible here below on the condition of living like the child, confiding in the goodness of the Divine Father."—According to another great writer: "It was not from slow corruption of the heart, nor from a desire to hide his own faults in the faults of the whole human kind, that LEOPARDI'S poetry came forth. He saw his country fallen from its ancient greatness and the flower of its youth dragged away to perish miserably; he saw the governments of Europe coldly dispose of his beloved Italy, and wept tears of passionate grief because he could do nothing to help her." It is not strange that the curse of despair which is coeval with humanity, should have fallen upon him with all its crushing might and made existence seem to him like an unmerited punishment.

Although the limits prescribed to this paper only allow one to glance at the giants of literature who, like the towering Alpine peaks, reflect the light of God when all else is wrapped in gloom, it would be an injustice to the great names we have cited, not to place by their side that of another who, by his talents, his patriotism, his sufferings, deserved a place upon the golden annals of Italy's martyrs.

"SILVIO PELLICO, says ZANELLA, contributed to bring into abomination, not only to Italy but to the whole of Europe, the Austrian dominion. His 'Prigioni,' or the story of his barbarous imprisonment by the Austrians, is the best known Italian book in Europe. The touching simplicity of the narrative, rendered sweeter by the spirit of Christian resignation which fills the book, has moved all generous hearts and has made the cruel tyranny of Austria more abhorrent than the most furious invective. The national spirit which pervades all the writers of this period is not lacking to this gentle soul. In his 'Francesca da Rimini,' the manly accents of patriotism which fill that tragedy were ever received, in spite of the Austrian bayonet, with the most frenzied applause, especially those verses of Paolo:

Per chi di stragi si macchiò il mio brando?

Per lo straniero. E non ho patria forse

Cui sacro sia de' cittadini il sangue?

Per te, per te, che cittadini hai prodi,
 Italia mia, combatterò, se oltraggio
 Ti moverà l'invidia. E il più gentile
 Terren non sei di quanti scalda il sole?
 D'ogni bell'arte non sei madre, Italia?
 Polve d'eroi non è la polve tua?"

Here I must pause, hesitating and dissatisfied at the little justice done in this imperfect sketch in memory of the five greatest Italian writers of this century. Italy alone knows the full measure of what she owes them; their fame, unrestrained by Austrian fetters, was wafted early by the sweet breezes of Italy to every land that recognized the claims of genius, or loved the name of liberty; and in the British Parliament, long years ago, a great English statesman in demonstrating that Italy was worthy to cast off her long servitude, pronounced the names of ALFIERI, FOSCOLO, PELLICO, MANZONI and LEOPARDI.

You all remember, perhaps, the following lines:

Thy soil shall still be pregnant with the wise,
 The gay, the learned, the generous, and the brave,
 Native to thee, as summer to thy skies,
 Conquerors on foreign shores, and the far wave,
 Discoverers of new worlds, which take their name;
 For *thee* alone they have no arm to save,
 And all thy recompense is in their fame,
 A noble one to them, but not to thee—
 Shall *they* be glorious, and thou still the same?

To the English poet, Italy can now proudly answer, No! For, as the phantom host of the patriot sons defiles by, towering in their ranks, her dimmed eyes see the figures of those whose genius, whose efforts, whose labors, whose sufferings, were all placed upon their country's altar. Italy is not "the same," no longer a country whose geographical position interests none but the school boy, or tourist; no longer a mere store-house of art treasures, the curiosity-shop of the world, recalling so much of the dead past, so little of the living present—a land filled with decaying memories where an oppressed and degraded people can barely heave the last sigh as a requiem over hopes long dead. No! It is a land which has stirred the ashes of the past and found yet some living sparks of its ancient heroism; 'tis a land where the dreams of a TASSO, a RAPHAEL and the aspirations of a MICHAEL ANGELO have become realities—realities built upon achievements of mind and heart that would not dis-

honor the world's greatest heroes. For, as the panorama of the last thirty years of glorious regeneration passes before us, we see the first struggle of 1848 for independence, and feel the hopes and fears, the agonizing expectancy; the cold-blooded tyranny of foreign oppressors, the matchless, indomitable spirit and constancy of king, noble, burgher and peasant; the far-seeing policy of CAVOUR, the patriotism of GARIBALDI, the self-sacrifice of LA MARMORA awakening the sympathy of generous France and distant England. Ah! If the spirits of the great dead could return to earth or if some particle of the divine sympathy still binds them to the children of this world, how radiant the face of DANTE, how eager the look of FERRUCCIO, listening longingly for the first cry of Italian Liberty, or the triumphal chorus that announced the work as "done, and well done." For the sword of CAVALCANTI did not glitter in vain, when waved aloft by VICTOR EMMANUEL; the star of CHARLES ALBERT did not set for ever at Novara, but shone out with redoubled brilliancy above the Quirinal. The valleys and hills of Italy no longer echo the wail of despair from DANTE'S breaking heart, repeat no more the better humiliation of ALFIERI'S

Servi siam ma ognor frementi.

Six hundred years of shame, despair, humiliation, may well be forgotten when from Adriatic to the Middle Sea, from Sicily to the Alpine heights rolls the grand swelling thunder of

Italia, Italia, una!

III.—*The Allegory as employed by Spenser, Bunyan, and Swift.*

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I.

In a dissertation on "The Anglo-Saxon Metaphor," PROFESSOR GUMMERE has shown conclusively that while the metaphor, "the corner-stone of all poetical style," is a figure native to our literature, the simile had no existence in Old English poetry, until it was brought in through the influence of the Bible and of sacred Latin poetry. He also refutes the position taken by PROFESSOR HEINZEL in his essay "Ueber den Stil der altgermanischen Poesie,"¹ that the simile existed in Old English poetry previous to the introduction of Christianity, but was given up as a concession to a foreign culture; showing that, on the contrary, only a few sporadic cases of the simile occur before the sacred writings were made known to our ancestors, and that the development of that figure was distinctly hastened by the influence of the church.

In the course of time the simile would doubtless have had an independent growth; but it is too conscious a figure to be found in the early stages of a literature. The brief metaphor and the Kenning are more natural. DR. BODE, in his dissertation "Die Kenningar in der angelsächsischen Dichtung," notes the fact (p. 9) that young people, women, and those of strong emotional temperament, use Kenningar very freely. In the same way PROFESSOR GUMMERE shows (p. 12) that the language of children and of primitive races abounds in unconscious metaphor; not until the imaginative power in children begins to give way to the reasoning faculty, not until a literature has begun to be conscious of itself, is the simile used freely. The elaborate detail of the Homeric simile is never found in Old English poetry; the poet is in such haste to press on that even his metaphors are brief. Though the movement is not rapid, owing to frequent repetition, yet there seems to be a resistless energy beating back and forth between the verses, that gives the effect of rapidity.

The allegory is even more conscious of itself as a literary form than is the simile; it also is not found in our literature until after

¹ *Quellen und Forschungen*, 10; Strassburg, 1875.

the introduction of Christianity, and its development coincides with the growth of the church. This figure bears on its face the marks of eastern origin; in the form of fable and parable it is found in the oldest literatures. In the Old Testament there are many cases of genuine allegory, as, for example, the beautiful allegory in Psalm lxxx and that in Psalm xxiii; longer allegories, and more difficult of interpretation, are contained in the 'Canticles' and in the prophecy of Ezekiel. Saint Paul (Gal. iv, 24; i Cor. x, 4), Saint John (Revelation), and the author of the epistle to the Hebrews (cap. iv; cap. vii), set the example of allegorical interpretation of Old Testament history. Under the lead of the Alexandrian Jews there was an attempt to interpret allegorically the entire Old Testament; stimulated by the examples of the apostles and by the writings of PHILO JUDAEUS, the Alexandrian Fathers, CLEMENT and ORIGEN employed the same method of interpretation. ORIGEN, who has been called "the father of the allegorical method in the church," went so far as to say that "the Scriptures are of little use to those who understand them as they are written;" his tendency toward allegorizing and other liberal views brought about his trial for heresy and consequent excommunication. AUGUSTINE, chief of the Latin fathers, carried to excess this method of interpretation. In the middle ages the accepted mode of interpretation was according to the four-fold sense in which DANTE tells us the 'Divina Commedia' is to be understood: "the literal sense teaches what has been done, the allegorical what to believe, the moral what to do, the anagogical whither we are tending; or as the Latin couplet has it,

Littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria,
Moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia.

In the decline of Latin Literature, allegory began to be used freely (cf. the allegory of Cupid and Psyche in APULEIUS); and the Christian poets adopted and used extensively this form. As a distinct literary form, the allegory was first employed by the Spanish scholar, PRUDENTIUS (born in 348 A. D.; collected works published in 405 A. D.) in a series of Latin poems of which the "Psychomachia" is the most important.

This tendency toward allegorical poetry and toward allegorical interpretation was brought to England by the monks that followed in the train of St. Augustine. In Old English we have only CYNEWULF'S 'Phoenix' and the 'Physiologus;' but the Bestiary, the occasional allegory in the 'Ancren Riwle,' the

'Ayenbite of Inwit,' and the 'Ormulum,' the 'Vision concerning Piers the Plowman,' and numerous homilies, bear witness to the wide-spread influence of the allegory in Middle English. A fresh impulse was given to the cultivation of this form by the influence of French literature; the 'Roman de la Rose' in particular was the fore-runner and exemplar of a vast number of allegories, both in English and in French. Without entering upon the discussion of questions of disputed authorship, we may note in passing the undoubted influence of this poem and of the "Dream of Scipio" upon CHAUCER and his contemporaries. That "disease of the middle ages," as allegory has been called, spread like an epidemic through all the literatures of Europe. Passing over SKELTON, DUNBAR and GAWAIN DOUGLAS, we come to the tedious allegory of STEPHEN HAWES,—'The Passetyme of Plesure,' telling of the education of the hero Graunde Amoure at the Tower of Doctrine; "howe he was received of Logyke; howe he was received of Rethoryke, and what rethoryke is;" how in the Tower of Musike he found La bell Pucell, of whose incomparable excellences Fame had already told him on directing him to the Tower of Doctrine; how he wooed and won her love; and of the various adventures and trials that he underwent before he was finally married to her. This is enough to give an idea of the arbitrariness and the frigid artificiality of the allegory; it may also serve as an illustration of numerous other poems of varying degrees of tediousness. *Ab uno disce omnes.* The Italian influence of the Renaissance revived the taste for allegory that had begun to fall into disuse. If ARIOSTO had not been conscious of any allegorical significance in his romantic poem, his commentators were not slow to redeem his reputation and to discover a hidden meaning for him. For a time this was the prevalent mode of interpreting HOMER and VERGIL. TASSO did as MARTINUS SCRIBLERUS advises in his Recipe to make an Epic Poem; after completing his poem, he extracted an allegory from it. His 'Aminta' and GUARINI's 'Pastor Fido' served as a model for the pastoral drama of FLETCHER and BEN JONSON.

It was under such influences, both native and foreign, that SPENSER wrote what are well-nigh the most poetical of all allegories in English. The next name prominent in this style of writing is that of PHINEAS FLETCHER. His 'Piscatory Eclogues' are a direct imitation of 'The Shepheards Calender' of SPENSER. In 'The Purple Island' it would seem that allegory

is carried to its farthest extreme ; the first five cantos read more like a treatise on anatomy than like a poem. The writer acts as his own interpreter in learned marginal notes. A short extract will suffice :

At that caves mouth twice sixteen Porters stand,
 Receivers of the customarie rent ;
 On each side foure (the formost of the band)
 Whose office to divide what in is sent :
 Straight other foure break it in peices small ;
 And at each hand twice five, which grinding all,
 Fit it for convoy and this cities Arsenall.
 From thence a ¹ Groom with wondrous volubilitie
 Delivers all unto near officers,
 Of nature like himself, and like agilitie ;
 On each side foure, that are the governours
 To see the vict'als shipt at fittest tide ;
 Which straight from thence with prosp'rous chanel slide
 And in *Koilias* ² port with nimble oars glide. ³

¹ In either chap are sixteen teeth ; foure cutters, two dog-teeth, or breakers, ten grinders.

² The tongue with great agilitie delivers up the meat (well chewed) to the instruments of swallowing : eight muscles serving to this purpose, which instantly send the meat through the Oesophagus or meat-pipe into the stomach.

FRANCIS QUARLES had contemplated writing upon the same subject: the following verses by him, usually prefixed to 'The Purple Island,' may illustrate the kind of allegory employed in the first few cantos of that poem, and are better reading in proportion as the passage is briefer:

Man's body's like a house: his greater bones
 Are the main timber ; and the lesser ones,
 Are smaller splints: his ribs are laths, daub'd o'er,
 Plaster'd with flesh and blood: his mouth's the door,
 His throat's the narrow entry ; and his heart
 Is the great chamber, full of curious art :
 His midriff is a large partition wall
 'Twixt the great chamber and the spacious hall :
 His stomach is the kitchen, where the meat
 Is often but half sod, for want of heat :
 His spleen's a vessel nature does allot
 To take the scum that rises from the pot :
 His lungs are likè the bellows that respire
 In ev'ry office, quick'ning ev'ry fire :
 His nose the chimney is, whereby are vented
 Such fumes as with the bellows are augmented, etc., etc.

² The stomach. ³ Canto ii, stanzas 30, 31.

FLETCHER's allegory is the same in kind, though he allegorizes the human body in a different manner. The body is an island, of which the veins are rivers, the stomach a harbor, the heart the capital city: each nerve and sinew has its counterpart. After five cantos in this manner, annotated with copious marginal notes, the poem is continued by personifying the intellectual qualities, the vices and the virtues that inhabit this "purple island," man. As FLETCHER describes the conflict between the virtues and the vices, the former under the lead of Eclecta (Intellect), he rises into a higher vein of poetry than QUARLES is capable of: SAINTSBURY says that at times his verse is worthy of SPENSER, when he is nodding. In the twelfth canto there is a sudden bathos where there should be a climax. In answer to prayer of Eclecta, who is sorely oppressed, there appears appropriately enough an angel: very inappropriately, however, this angel is King James the First, who, by a theological treatise on the Apocalypse, assures the victory to Eclecta. Verily, a *deus ex machina*! After such fulsome adulation, shall we venture to criticise SPENSER's compliments to Queen Elizabeth? Fortunately we may believe that it is not in the power of man to write anything more tedious than the first half of 'The Purple Island.' Between allegory as written by LANGLAND and SPENSER and as written by HAWES and FLETCHER, the poet gifted with true imaginative power and the manufacturer of dark conceits, there is a vast difference. Both PHINEAS and GILES FLETCHER are of importance in that their influence can be traced in MILTON, whom I consider a master in the use of allegory. It is probable that from FLETCHER's Hamartia in 'The Purple Island' MILTON's imagination conceived the allegory of Sin and Death in the second book of 'Paradise Lost:' the allegory is far more powerful than FLETCHER's, though it is one of the most conscious and least successful of MILTON's allegories.⁴

It was in the same century, when, were it not for 'Comus,' 'Lycidas,' and 'Samson Agonistes,' the allegory might seem to merit a natural death, that there was written the most impressive and the most widely read of all allegories,—'The Pilgrim's Progress.' Nearly at the same time appeared the vigorous satires of DRYDEN; and in the closing years of the century were written, though not published, the still more powerful satires of SWIFT. Since 1726-27, the date of publication of

⁴ Both MILTON and FLETCHER doubtless had in mind James I, 15: FLETCHER quotes Romans VI, 13: 'The Purple Island,' Canto XII, Stanza 35. The description of Error in his first canto of 'The Faerie Queen' may also have been present in MILTON's mind.

'Gulliver's Travels,' we have the occasional short allegories of the 'Spectator' and the 'Rambler,' and THOMSON'S 'Castle of Indolence,'—of all imitations of SPENSER the most perfect and beautiful. In our day the allegory has passed out of favor as a literary form, and its use is infrequent.

In the early drama the Moralities were allegories both in construction and in aim. This form of dramatic allegory was continued in the masques of BEN JONSON and SHIRLEY, and was carried to perfection in MILTON'S 'Comus.'

II.

"Allegorie,—ein Wort womit nur wenige einen bestimmten Begriff verbinden."—LESSING.

The allegory has usually been defined as a prolonged metaphor or a prolonged personification; abstracts are made concrete; one story is told in terms of another. In opposition to the view which would consider the allegory merely as a metaphor carried out into greater detail, BRINKMANN ('Die Metaphern, pp. 28, 29) would establish the following distinction: the allegory is an expression of thought which is figurative throughout in all its details; while the metaphor is partly literal, partly figurative. Accordingly, there may be brief allegory and long metaphor. Thus, commenting upon examples of metaphor given in CARRIÈRE'S 'Aesthetik,' he considers the expression in 'Macbeth,'

Sleep that knits up the ravell'd sleeve of care,

a genuine metaphor, inasmuch as care cannot be knit up into a ball or skein; the figure is broken and is not carried through consistently. Quite differently he understands the expression

Nacht muss es sein wo Friedlands Sterne strahlen.⁵

which is consistently figurative throughout, and is a case of allegory. The distinction made here is essential and marks a genuine difference; accordingly BRINKMANN would consider allegory a separate figure, were it not for the ease with which metaphor shades off into allegory, thus making it difficult to mark with precision the boundary between them. Thus the verse quoted from 'Wallenstein' might be considered a metaphor, if it were not for the connection; astrology performs so important a part in 'Wallenstein,' that it is altogether natural to speak of "Friedlands stars." In the quotation from 'Macbeth,' which contains several metaphors, we are conscious in each case of the trope, the turning from the literal signification of the words used:

⁵ 'Wallenstein's Tod,' III, 10.

Methought I heard a voice cry 'Sleep no more!
Macbeth does murder sleep'—the innocent sleep,
Sleep that knits up the ravell'd sleeve of care,
The death of each day's life, sore labor's bath,
Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,
Chief nourisher in life's feast.—6

Each metaphor surprises the mind by its originality and vigor; there is a consciousness both of the fitness of the thought and of the incongruity of the means of expression. We know that Macbeth could not murder sleep, that care has no sleeve to be knit up, that a day has neither life nor death, that labor cannot be bathed, that balm cannot be applied to the mind; but the essential similarity of things that to the external vision are unlike, give to the mind a heightened pleasure through the new association of ideas suggested to it.

Compare the following allegory by CLOUGH:

Where lies the land to which the ship would go?
Far, far ahead, is all her seamen know.
And where the land she travels from? Away,
Far, far behind, is all that they can say.
On sunny noons upon the deck's smooth face,
Linked arm in arm, how pleasant here to pace;
Or, o'er the stern reclining, watch below
The foaming wake far widening as we go.
On stormy nights when wild north-westerns rave,
How proud a thing to fight with wind and wave!
The dripping sailor on the reeling mast
Exults to bear, and scorns to wish it past.
Where lies the land to which the ship would go?
Far, far ahead, is all her seamen know.
And where the land she travels from? Away,
Far, far behind, is all that they can say.

This is figurative throughout, if it is figurative at all; once admit that there is a figure involved in the poem, and we must admit that there is not a phrase, not a word, that is at the same time to be taken literally. Very different is this from the combination of the literal and the figurative in the metaphor, *Life is a voyage*. This distinction is especially useful in the consideration of style, but it will also be of use in the consideration of the allegory as a literary form, with which we are chiefly concerned.

For the allegory is nothing more or less than a riddle. VISCHER (quoted by BRINKMANN, p. 26) describes the allegory as "eine durch mehrere Momente durchgeführte Metapher, welcher

in der Art versteckt ist, dass sie den verglichenen Gegenstand verschweigt und räthselartig errathen lässt." This riddle-like character, this suppression of the object compared, marks the very essence of the allegory, and will throw light upon its excellences and its defects. It is of first importance then that that which does not meet the ear, the double meaning for the sake of which the story is told, shall be clearly and unmistakably symbolized in what is written. A riddle unanswered is a failure; in like manner an allegory which remains a dark conceit, or which is unravelled with difficulty, is a failure as an allegory, whatever its literary merit may be in other directions.⁷

Moreover, the surface meaning of an allegory taken by itself must be clear and consistent without any regard to the hidden meaning. The allegory by CLOUGH is an excellent example in point. If attention be paid only to the surface meaning, it is complete, beautiful, and satisfying; the hidden meaning in no wise disturbs the surface meaning, but gives to the poem new beauty and depth with every reading. This it is that makes the poem so perfect an allegory. Nor is there any confusion of the figurative and the literal sense. The figurative sense is not forced upon us; if we prefer to take only the literal sense, we find it simple and unmixed with any perplexing hint that we do not understand the poem.⁸ Yet the symbol is expressed with such beauty of suggestion that it lingers in the mind with a fascination that makes the poem, once read, never to be forgotten.

In view of what has been said above I cannot admit that a prolonged personification is genuine allegory. BRINKMANN, indeed, says (p. 36) that a personification completely carried out is allegory in the narrower sense of the word; but if it is indeed the nature of allegory that it says something other than is meant (*ἄλλο ἀγορεύει ἢ νοεῖ*), then this condition is not met by representing in action an abstract quality named for itself. Evidently there is no riddle here, for nothing is suppressed; the writer declares very plainly his literal meaning. Justice is upright; Fortitude is brave; Mercy is gentle. Eighteenth cen-

⁷ Cf. QUINTILIAN, 'Inst. Orator,' viii, 6, 52: *Haec allegoria, quae est obscurior, aenigma dicitur; vitium meo quidem iudicio, si quidem dicere dilucide virtus; quo tamen et poetae utuntur.*

⁸ It may be objected that the seaman always knows for what land he is bound, and from what port he sailed: but the question with which the poem begins is not *what*, but *where*: and the answer does not give the name of the port, but merely points in the direction of the ship's course. It is an added excellence in the allegory, if the mind is caused to dwell for a moment upon the first stanza, until it realizes that "more is meant than meets the ear;" the reader "early grasps the key and begins to apply it to the solution of the various details of the narrative." Cf. p. 255.

ture poetry abounds in what LOWELL calls "that alphabetic personification which enlivens all such words as Hunger, Solitude, Freedom, by the easy magic of an initial capital."

Send forth the saving Virtues round the land,
In bright patrol: white Peace, and social Love;
The tender-looking Charity, intent
On gentle deeds, and shedding tears thro' smiles;
Undaunted Truth, and Dignity of mind.⁹

This alphabetic personification cannot avail to give life to an abstraction; it must assume to the mind's eye the form of living flesh and blood, must suffer and struggle, in order to win our interest and sympathy. If a single lifeless personification is frigid, what must that personification be when prolonged through many pages in the same dull manner? Yet even when this difficulty has been surmounted, and the narrative has been made lifelike and interesting, this is not allegory, for nothing is suppressed. Personification is metaphor; but personification is not allegory. Personification endeavors to convey its meaning directly in a vivid manner; while allegory conveys its meaning indirectly through a medium differing from itself.

Neither is it allegory to represent a hero or heroine as the embodiment of some particular virtue or vice; if this were the case, 'Sense and Sensibility,' 'Pride and Prejudice,' and all novels of didactic aim, apparent or concealed, must be counted as allegories. A thing cannot be represented in an allegory by itself. It is not enough to say that the manner of presentation is different from the actuality, for this is necessarily the case with any abstraction; the presentation of abstract truth in concrete form is not allegory, unless the form be such that it contains a hidden meaning different from the surface meaning.¹⁰ It is a misnomer to apply the name allegory to that which has only a surface meaning.

Though allegories have been written merely for entertainment, yet for practical purposes we may assert that all allegories are didactic; the allegory always aims at teaching some truth. It may be religious truth, as in 'The Pilgrim's Progress;' moral truth, as in 'The Faerie Queene;' theological truth, as in 'The Hind and the Panther;' political satire, as in 'Gulliver's Travels;' religious and theological satire, as in 'The Tale of a Tub;' literary satire, as in 'The Dunciad.' Sometimes it refers to his-

⁹ THOMSON'S 'Seasons': *Summer*, verses 1604-1608.

¹⁰ *Ἀλληγορία* aliud verbis aliud sensu ostendit. QUINTILIAN, 'Inst. Orator.' viii, 6.44.

torical events, and its pretended moral indignation is merely a cloak for bitter personal satire, as in 'Absalom and Achitophel;' but even here there is a pretence of enforcing some moral lesson. A poet may venture to say in allegorical wise truths that he would not venture to utter openly. Thus in the 1638 edition of 'Lycidas' it would not have been safe, if it had been appropriate, to call the reader's attention directly to the fact that MILTON had turned aside "to foretell the ruin of our corrupted clergy, then in their height;" but the danger had passed away when the poem was reprinted in 1645, after the Long Parliament had abolished the Court of High Commission. The allegory is equally well adapted to be a vehicle for flattery; we can read with equanimity compliments to Belpheobe and Gloriana, which when addressed to a living person must sound fulsome to all save the flatterer and the flattered.

As a literary form, the allegory differs from the parable chiefly in length, and in the suppression of the moral. The fable or apologue represents creatures not human or inanimate things as speaking and acting like human beings. ROBERT HENRYSOUN, PRIOR and GAY are the chief writers of fables in English, though SWIFT's apologue of the bee and the spider is perhaps the best known. The simpler and easier form of allegory has been attempted less than that which is a greater tax upon the power of invention. The writer of allegories is beset with difficulties on every side. In addition to those already mentioned there is the danger of considering the illustration so closely as to forget the thing illustrated. The allegory is not a brief story like the fable with the addition of a pithy moral; but every detail of a long narrative is supposed to enforce some point in the general truth taught. Now a short moral is all that the ordinary reader is willing to listen to. The writer of allegory has then the difficult task of constructing a narrative, every detail of which shall convey some lesson; on the other hand the narrative must be interesting, and yet not of such absorbing interest as to close the eyes to the very purpose for which it has been written. The allegory thus occupies middle ground between the narrative poem and the didactic poem; and it has to meet the difficulties inherent to each. A didactic poem that is not clever is tedious; accordingly even an allegory that is well constructed, will be tedious exactly in proportion to its length, unless the narrative has interest enough to counter-balance the omnipresent moral. This is the difficulty with FLETCHER'S

'Purple Island.' The allegory is constructed in the most careful manner, with the closest correspondence in every minute detail between the literal meaning and the figurative meaning; but the surface meaning is uninteresting, and the hidden meaning is even more so. If, however, the narrative absorbs the reader's attention to the exclusion of the lesson that it is intended to convey, the work, whatever other excellences it may possess, is a failure as an allegory. The successful allegorist, then, must be a skillful writer of narrative who has also a high degree of imaginative power, and tact to know in what proportion to blend the didactic element; his problem is to know how thick a coating of sugar to give the pill.

The pre-requisites of a good narrative are, of course, movement and method. It is difficult to say which is the more important. A narrative must have movement, else it is lifeless; progress of some kind there must be. Equally essential is it that the progress be straight ahead; nothing is more tiresome than an unmethodical narrative that circles about without making any advance. Short detours there may be for the sake of a new point of view, if the highway be not lost; but Christian is not the first or the last who has discovered the danger of strolling in By-path Meadow. A strict attention to unity will conduce to both movement and method; and this unity, it is scarcely necessary to say, rests in the moral, the purpose for which the tale is told. There must be a steadfast and orderly progression toward the end first decided upon: no episode, no digression can be admitted, that does not have some bearing upon the main purpose of the narrative.

An allegory should also be clear and definite. Reference has already been made to the "riddle-like character" of the allegory; but a good allegory will suggest its own answer. A riddle of several hundred pages is more than human patience can endure, unless there is some adequate reward in store for it; therefore the answer must not be vaguely hinted at, but should be clearly suggested almost at the outset. If the reader does not early grasp the key and begin to apply it to the solution of the various details of the narrative, then the allegory is a failure so far as its chief aim is concerned. Nothing will conduce to clearness of detail so much as perfect clearness in the general outline; to refer again to CLOUGH's allegory, it is the naturalness of the metaphor on which the allegory is constructed,—Life is a voyage,—that makes the various details so easily intelligible. But

let the thought which is the basis of an allegory be arbitrary or obscure, and every added detail, instead of clearing up the confusion, will serve only to weary and perplex the reader.

The highest kind of allegory is that which rises, consciously or unconsciously, into the region of symbolism. The difference between ordinary allegory and symbolism is well expressed by AUBREY DE VERE: "Symbols have a real, and allegories but an arbitrary existence."¹¹ Says RUSKIN, "Symbolism is the setting forth of a great truth by an imperfect and inferior sign."¹² If we add COLERIDGE's definition of allegory, "the employment of one set of agents and images to convey in disguise a moral meaning, *with a likeness to the imagination, but with a difference to the understanding*,—those agents and images being so combined as to form a homogeneous whole,"¹³—we shall perhaps come as near as may be to defining that which is really indefinable. The words that I have italicised are likewise true of the simile and the metaphor, but they are especially true of the highest kind of allegory. Arbitrary allegory is cold and lifeless; while it is the nature of symbolism to be stimulating and suggestive. True symbolism, as RUSKIN says, is ennobling; it is not limited in its meaning, but is expansive. The understanding will consent to walk in the path marked out for it, though it may not stop at the appointed bound; the imagination breaks loose from all restraints, soars aloft, and takes a bird's eye view far more comprehensive than the limited vision of the understanding. Compare the tedious precision of 'The Purple Island' and its careful marginal notes with the beautiful suggestiveness of CLOUGH's allegory. The choice of suggestive and appropriate symbols is a test of a poet's imaginative power. Under the form of that which is common and familiar is presented to the mind a thought different in kind, higher in its nature, and upon which no limit is placed to the range of the imagination. When we are told that "man's body's like a house," or an island, we perceive a certain analogy between the objects compared, but are conscious at the same time that such a comparison is arbitrary and purely fanciful. But the oft repeated metaphor "Life is a voyage," as soon as it is uttered, impresses the mind with its reality: we *know* that it is true. The extent to which this metaphor has become hackneyed is a testimony to its

¹¹ GROSART's edition of SPENSER, Vol. i, p. 273; reprinted in 'Essays, chiefly on poetry,' Vol. i, p. 17.

¹² 'Stones of Venice,' Vol. ii, p. 322. ¹³ 'Works,' American edition, Vol. iv, p. 247.

naturalness; nor can it ever become so familiar that in a master's hand it may not be clothed with new interest and beauty.

Of allegory that is based upon symbolism it is also true that it will not relax its hold upon our attention, but is continually hinting to us that we have not fathomed all the meaning of the story. In arbitrary allegory there is a definite, precise meaning that can be made out once and for all; in symbolism the meaning is never exhausted. Our minds are constantly occupied with the story that has been suppressed; we wish to know the thought that was in the poet's mind. Of this not a word is told us, but it must all be constructed by us out of our own knowledge and experience. If the symbolism used by a poet is apt and noble, his allegory haunts the reader with a continually recurring fascination; it stirs in him the poetic nature which belongs to every lover of poetry, even though he may not be gifted with the power of song. It must also be noted that by long association what was at first merely a sign or an attribute, becomes a symbol; thus the cross, originally the sign of a criminal's punishment, has become eloquent as a symbol of the Christian faith.

Symbolism is general in its nature and will scarcely admit of being carried out into elaborate detail. It cannot reasonably be demanded that more shall be done than to choose a symbol which is clear and ennobling, and which shall run unmistakably through the entire allegory; this will do much toward relieving what might otherwise seem arbitrary in the detail. Indeed it would be hard to find a long allegory that is throughout genuinely symbolic. DE QUINCEY speaks of the difficulty that arises because allegorical characters are frequently brought into situations that have no allegorical meaning: "Thus, for example, Charity is brought by the conduct of the story into the various accidents and situations of a traveller; Hope is represented as the object of sexual love, etc. And, in all such cases, the allegoric character is for the moment suspended in obedience to the necessities of the story."¹⁴ Because of a distinction that he makes between fleshless personification and incarnate principles he claims that there is no error in this, provided that the characters are not brought into situations contradictory to the principle involved in the narrative. The passage is also of interest as indicating that DE QUINCEY did not look upon mere personification as allegory. Yet SPENSER's personifications are

¹⁴ 'Works' American edition, Vol. ix, note on p. 599.

certainly far from being lifeless; while SWIFT, and BUNYAN when he chose, was able to find an allegorical meaning for all the various accidents and situations of a traveller.

III.

By the admission of his warmest admirers, SPENSER, the first of romantic poets who have written in English, was only partially successful in his use of allegory. In the light of the preceding investigation into the nature and requirements of the allegory, I wish to examine his use of this form of literature with the purpose of ascertaining, if possible, wherein he failed; incidentally I shall examine the work of two other writers,—BUNYAN and SWIFT,—superior to him in the use of allegory, though inferior to him in literary art.

A. When we think of writers of allegory, the name of BUNYAN is the first that comes into our minds; of all books that have been written in the English language, perhaps in any language, 'The Pilgrim's Progress' has probably been most read in its entirety. Like SIR THOMAS MALORY's 'Morte d'Arthur,' BUNYAN's master-piece is usually classed with our poetry; both are to be counted in our small number of epics.

The first quality necessary to a poet, namely imagination, BUNYAN possessed in a high degree. In childhood his mind was filled with vivid thoughts that terrified him beyond measure. Swearing, a vice far more common two hundred years ago than now, and lying, a fault natural to a child of imaginative temperament, allowed him no peace, but made his soul a prey to apprehensions of divine wrath. Evil spirits and visions of judgment appeared to him in his sleep. In early manhood his mind was the battle-field of contending emotions, now plunging him into agonies of distress, and at times raising him to a state of religious ecstasy. His religious autobiography, 'Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners,' furnishes a key to his later and better known works. From it we learn how terribly real to BUNYAN were the foes that assailed Christian, and that garrisoned the city of Mansoul. It was no abstraction of the mind with which for several years BUNYAN wrestled so earnestly in prayer; to him the devil was as genuine a personality as he was to MARTIN LUTHER.

With BUNYAN's imaginative power belongs his power of vivid personification. Mr. Greatheart, the Interpreter, Giant Despair, Lord Will-be-will, are not mere alphabetic personifications; they are living realities. BUNYAN's less imaginative writings abound

in similies and in striking metaphors. Of him it might truly be said, "He thought in figures, for the figures came."

Another quality, skillfulness of narration, BUNYAN possessed in a marked degree. His story never flags; Christian halts upon his journey, but the story progresses. Even in 'Grace Abounding,' a narrative of spiritual struggle and growth, there is abundant incident and orderly progression. Much more in 'The Pilgrim's Progress' is there continual movement. BUNYAN's very names are a description; and every word, every action, is a revelation of character. Yet his narrative is perfectly artless; it is to his straight-forward simplicity that his excellence, both in movement and in method, is due.

The use of dialogue gave an added semblance of truth to his narratives; whenever it is possible, BUNYAN is silent and Christian speaks for himself. Indeed Christian's travelling companions, Faithful and Hopeful, were devised largely for the purpose of giving him an opportunity to tell his own story. The narrative is in semi-dramatic form; it has all the directness and vividness of the drama. 'The Plaine Man's Pathway to Heaven. Set foorth Dialogue-wise, for the better understanding of the simple,'—may have served BUNYAN for model, if not for inspiration; this book, one of the two that formed his wife's portion, and did beget within him some desires to religion,¹⁵ was doubtless never forgotten by him, and perhaps had a decisive influence upon his choice of style.

Moreover, there is perfect unity in BUNYAN's narrative. No other character succeeds in drawing away our attention from Christian, who is always the centre of the story. After a long speech by Talkative or by Faithful, our first thought is, "What will Christian have to say to that?" Evangelist is seen approaching in the distance; and at once we think, "Now there is help and comfort for Christian." Indeed it would be difficult to prove that any part of the story is irrelevant.

Of all long allegories BUNYAN's is probably the simplest. Its meaning is so clear that it cannot be mistaken. Even a child who reads merely for the story, grasps the general point, though he may not be able to comprehend all the detail. Unquestionably it is owing to its simplicity that 'The Pilgrim's Progress' has become so widely popular. Its allegory is not a riddle. The much-worn metaphor, Life is a pilgrimage, is kept clearly before the mind, without episode or digression. Most like a

¹⁵ 'Grace Abounding,' p. 13.

digression are the theological discussions with Talkative and with Ignorance, and Hopeful's account of his awakening to sin and of his conversion; but these conversations took place not in the arbor mid-way up the hill Difficulty, nor on the Delectable Mountains, nor yet in By-path Meadow, but while Christian and his companions were pressing on toward Mount Sion.

"Wouldst thou read Riddles and their Explanation,"

says BUNYAN in his preface to 'The Pilgrim's Progress; but he does not suffer his riddle for a moment to remain such. Riddle and answer are given us at once. It is true that human experience furnishes the answer from itself; but BUNYAN is not contented with that. He asks his readers to "be edified by the margent:"

"Nor do thou go to work without my Key,
(In mysteries men soon do lose their way)
And also turn it right if thou wouldst know
My riddle, and wouldst with my heifer plow,
It lies there in the window."—^{x6}

The margent.

Let us note for a moment how the answer to the riddle is obtruded upon the reader's attention. BUNYAN does not begin his narrative by telling us that he walked through a certain wilderness, leaving us later to gather from his story that the world is meant, but he says distinctly, "As I walked through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place, where was a Denn;" and the margent informs us that "the gaol" is meant. "I dreamed, and behold I saw a Man clothed with Raggs, standing in a certain place, with his face from his own House, a Book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back." The margent tells us at once that "all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags" (Isaiah lxiv, 6); that "whosoever . . . forsaketh not all that he hath, he cannot be my disciple" (Luke xiv, 33); that "Mine iniquities are gone over my head; as an heavy burden they are too heavy for me" (Psalms xxxviii, 4). Again where the general meaning is clear, BUNYAN is careful that his particular meaning be understood: "Then said Evangelist, pointing with his finger to a very wide Field, Do you see yonder *Wicket-gate? The man said, No. Then said the other, Do you see yonder *shining light? He said, I think I do. Then said Evangelist. Keep that light in your eye, and go up directly thereto, *so shalt thou see the Gate:—"and the margent, besides telling us that "Christ and the way to him cannot be found

^{x6} 'The Holy War,' end of preface addressed to the reader.

without the Word," refers us to Matthew vii, 13, 14, "Enter ye in at the strait gate," etc., Psalm cxix, 105. Thy word is a light unto my path," and 2 Peter, i, 19, "We have also a more sure word of prophecy; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed as unto a light that shineth in a dark place." What I wish to note particularly is that in the clearest and most popular of all allegories, so much pains is taken to make it impossible to misunderstand the writer's meaning. BUNYAN was writing for the ordinary reader, who turns away from anything mystical, but is fascinated by it, if he can readily penetrate the mystery.

At no time have the English people as a whole been more familiar with the Bible than during the years covered by the lives of MILTON and BUNYAN. Nor was this familiarity with the Scriptures suddenly lost during the years immediately following the Restoration: the Bible was still the most read book in England, and the seed that had been sown was still bringing forth fruit. WYCHERLEY and CONGREVE did not represent so large a portion of the people as did BUNYAN and BAXTER. In the villages and hamlets of England the middle and lower classes were still Bible-reading and Bible-following people. To no generation of readers has 'The Pilgrim's Progress' ever been so clear as it was to that which it first reached. In addition to an intimate acquaintance with the Bible, they could see the history of their own time reflected in the allegory, perhaps with a minuteness of detail that we may not be able to discern.

The clearness of BUNYAN'S allegory may be due in part to a cause that is not generally suspected,—namely, that much of it is not allegory at all. Whenever there is any danger of obscurity, BUNYAN lays aside the allegorical disguise and speaks openly and directly; yet the main outline of the story is so clearly allegorical that our eyes are closed to the lack of correspondence in detail. I have already noted the fact that BUNYAN is so careful to avoid obscurity that he begins his narrative not with allegory, but with a metaphor, "As I walked through the wilderness of this world," thus giving at the outset a clue to all that follows. So in the Slough of Despond, the hill Difficulty, the Valley of Humiliation, BUNYAN supplies that which is suppressed in genuine allegory, using personified metaphor instead of allegory. Characters like Mr. Worldly Wiseman, Giant Despair, Ignorance, Greatheart, Mr. Ready-to-halt, and frequently Christian himself, are in no wise allegorical, but are merely personifications, acting in accordance with their names.

This is what COLERIDGE means, when he says that "where an abstraction is too strongly individualized, it ceases to be allegory; this is often felt in 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' where the characters are real persons with nicknames."¹⁷ Apollyon is a real person, without a nickname.

Examples of genuine allegory couched in the language of symbolism are, the hill that threatened to fall on Christian's head, the valiant man, who said, "Set down my name, Sir," Christian's burden and his roll, and the Delectable Mountains. In all these cases something is suppressed; though in nearly every instance the hidden meaning is supplied by the margin. Though it is true that there is scarcely a page in which the allegory is consistently maintained, yet the metaphor on which the narrative is based is kept clearly before the mind; the impression which the mind receives most distinctly and retains longest, is that of the pilgrimage, which we know must be taken in a double sense. In point of clearness the paradox is true that 'The Pilgrim's Progress' is so perfect an allegory because it is not perfect allegory.

MACAULAY has noted some of the most serious inconsistencies in the conduct of the allegory; as, for instance, the theological discussions and the catechizing of Christian's children, where there cannot be any hidden meaning; the confusion of literal and figurative meaning in that Christian passes through the deep river of Death through which all must go or they cannot enter in at the gate, while his friend Faithful dies a martyr's death at the stake. To these instances it may be added that Christiana's sons and her daughter-in-law Mercy, though they have performed all the journey with her, do not follow her across the river of Death, but tarry encamped by the side of the river for many years. Interpreted allegorically, this should mean prolonged invalidism in mortal illness; but with so many characters, it was scarcely possible to avoid inconsistencies of the kind.

As a counterpart to 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' BUNYAN wrote 'The Life and Death of Mr. Badman.' It is in the form of a dialogue in which Mr. Wiseman recounts to Mr. Attentive the story of the evil courses of Mr. Badman, and of his progress from bad to worse until his death. The three characters named are not allegorical, scarcely even personifications; they too are "real persons with nicknames." The entire narrative is straightforward, and has no hidden meaning; it is interesting for its

¹⁷ 'Works,' American Edition, Vol. iv, pp. 247, 248.

faithful portraiture of English life in the time of BUNYAN, but it can not be called an allegory. The mention of informers who told of the meetings in the fields attended by Mr. Badman's religious wife,¹⁸ must be a reference to the difficulties which BUNYAN's church experienced in holding their meetings after the Conventicle Act of 1664; and the description of Mr. Badman's frequent breaking¹⁹ (that is, failing in business) furnishes a curious parallel to the crooked dealing of more recent times.

More truly allegorical than any other work of BUNYAN's is 'The Holy War,' of which Macaulay said that "if 'The Pilgrim's Progress' did not exist, it would be the best allegory that ever was written." The "fair and delicate town" of Mansoul stands for the human race; this town is first captured by "one Diabolus, a mighty giant," and after a vigorous siege is regained by its rightful owner King Shaddai, and his son Emanuel. In the centre of this town is "a most famous and stately palace, intended but for King Shaddai alone, and not another with him;" this palace, the margin informs us, is the heart. In the same way the walls of the town are the body, and the five gates are the five senses. As may readily be seen, the allegory is not based upon symbolism, but is well-nigh as arbitrary as that of 'The Purple Island,' which it somewhat resembles. The various qualities of human nature are personified, as Captain Resistance, who falls a victim to the ambuscade of Diabolus, whereupon the town speedily capitulates; Lord Innocency is the next to fall. Other personifications are my Lord Understanding, the Lord Mayor; Mr. Conscience, the Recorder; Lord Will-be-will; Captain Conviction and Captain Credence, chief in command under Prince Emanuel. The allegory is based upon the fanciful resemblance of the human body to a town, at times traced with much ingenuity; and upon the never-ending contest between good and evil for the soul of man: it is, however, conducted largely by means of personifications acting in accordance with their names. Though the allegory of 'The Holy War' is more consistent and more curiously wrought than that of 'The Pilgrim's Progress,' yet it is less interesting. The latter is the story of the toilsome journey of one man, which becomes to us a living reality, all the more because we know that BUNYAN had trodden every step of the same road, because we recognize it in part ourselves, and know that we must follow on in the same

¹⁸ 'The Life and Death of Mr. Badman,' pp. 149-152.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 164-172.

way. 'The Holy War,' is the story of the entire race; Mansoul remains an abstraction, and is lacking in human interest.

B. The Dean of St. Patrick's at first thought would seem to have little in common with the prisoner of Bedford jail,—the zealous churchman with the uncompromising dissenter. Unlike they were in many ways. Yet they resembled one another in their sturdy manliness and independence of character, in their vigorous hatred of sham, in their plain-speaking, and in an equal degree in that allegory seemed to be the natural form of expression for both.

SWIFT'S stock of figures seems to be almost as inexhaustible as BUNYAN'S; but he appears to have sought them out, while BUNYAN'S seem to have come to him without seeking. With very little effort, however, SWIFT had at command an almost unlimited number of figures, all of them apt and telling. Take, for example, the short Preface of the Author to 'The Battle of the Books';²⁰ or this passage from the first section of 'The Tale of a Tub': "Wisdom is a fox, who, after long hunting, will at last cost you the pains to dig out; it is a cheese, which, by how much the richer, has the thicker, the homelier, and the coarser coat; and whereof, to a judicious palate, the maggots are the best: it is a sack-posset, wherein the deeper you go, you will find it the sweeter. Wisdom is a hen, whose cackling we must value and consider, because it is attended with an egg; but then lastly, it is a nut, which, unless you choose with judgment, may cost you a tooth, and pay you with nothing but a worm."²¹ Certainly no one would suppose from reading the above passage that SWIFT'S stock of metaphors was exhausted, or that he could not go on indefinitely with figures equally apt and well expressed. One can only wonder what DR. JOHNSON understood by a metaphor, when he said that SWIFT'S "few metaphors seem to be received rather by necessity than choice."²²

The above passage will serve as well as more offensive passages to illustrate the fact that SWIFT'S figures are not merely homely, but are almost uniformly degrading; any and all of

²⁰ 'Works,' Vol. x, p. 211. WALTER SCOTT'S second edition of 1824, in nineteen volumes; reprinted by Bickers & Son, London, 1883-84. ²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

²² 'Life of Swift.' In FORSTER'S 'Life of Swift' there is a footnote (p. 110) which quotes DR. JOHNSON as saying of SWIFT that "The sly dog never ventures at a metaphor;" but I have not been able to find the original of the quotation in BOSWELL or elsewhere.—In Vol. xvii, p. 88, of SWIFT'S 'Works' is the following note from DR. WARTON: "A just character of Swift's poetry, as well as his prose, is, that it 'consists of proper words in proper places.' Johnson said once to me, speaking of the simplicity of Swift's style, 'The rogue never hazards a figure.'"

them are worthy of a place as examples in 'The Art of Sinking in Poetry' by MARTINUS SCRIBLERUS. BUNYAN made free use of homely figures when they served his purpose; but his eyes were never for a long time turned away from Heaven. SWIFT never seemed to have any purpose that was not served by degrading figures; with sharp eyes and a keen scent for whatever was foul or unsightly, his gaze was steadily fixed upon the earth, or at least seldom rose above the heads of his fellow-mortals. This use of figures is without doubt largely to be attributed to the fact that SWIFT wrote little but satire; yet MATTHEW ARNOLD would have to institute a long search to find another figure so ennobling as that of the bees who "have chosen to fill their hives with honey and wax; thus furnishing mankind with the two noblest of things, which are sweetness and light."²³

Another characteristic which SWIFT shares with both BUNYAN and DEFOE is the air of probability that he gave to his narratives. This he did by avoiding any appearance of literary art, and by the introduction of little details, irrelevant to the purpose of the narrative, but useful in giving to the whole story an air of verisimilitude. It is this same characteristic that gave so much force to SWIFT's practical jokes in the 'Partridge Pamphlets' and in the 'Meditation upon a Broomstick.' Yet it must be admitted that SWIFT's bitterest satire, if 'The Battle of the Books' be excepted, is general in its nature; his blows are aimed not so much at persons as at the vices and failings embodied in those persons. POPE's satire, though less vigorous, is more personal and more envenomed.

Beyond a doubt 'Gulliver's Travels' is the most widely known and read of SWIFT's writings. Like 'The Pilgrim's Progress' it has a great fascination for children, who read it merely for the story: it has had an equal interest for students and advocates of Utopian schemes of government. In construction, however, it is inferior to other works by SWIFT; it lacks any special unity of plan. Its movement is good, but its method is governed by whatever came first into SWIFT's mind. In its general outline the allegory is perfectly simple and clear; with a hint or two regarding the political strife of SWIFT's time, it is readily understood by a bright boy of twelve years. That the Voyage to Lilliput is a satire upon the government of England under George I. and his Prime Minister, Sir Robert

²³ 'The Battle of the Books; Works,' Vol. x, pp. 226, 227. [Written before the death of MATTHEW ARNOLD.]

Walpole; and the Voyage to Brobdingnag a satire upon the government of William III., may readily be seen. Still more clearly noticeable is the supreme contempt that SWIFT felt for his own race, "the most pernicious race of little odious vermin, that nature ever suffered to crawl upon the surface of the earth."²⁴ SCOTT mentions the fact that in the Voyage to Lilliput the various pursuits, strifes, and ambitions of this world are made to seem petty and ridiculous, by being attributed to creatures less than six inches in height; while in the Voyage to Brobdingnag the vices of mankind seem all the more glaring when enacted by creatures many times larger.²⁵

A more scathing arraignment of Parliament and the management of public expenditures could hardly be written than that contained in the sixth chapter of the Voyage to Brobdingnag. SWIFT's disappointed ambition spoke his genuine belief where he says that the king "could not forbear taking me up in his right hand, and stroking me gently with the other, after a hearty fit of laughing, asked me, 'Whether I was a Whig or Tory?' Then turning to his first minister, who waited behind him with a white staff, near as tall as the main-mast of the Royal Sovereign, he observed, 'How contemptible a thing was human grandeur, which could be mimicked by such diminutive insects as I: and yet,' says he, 'I dare engage, these creatures have their titles and distinctions of honor; they contrive little nests and burrows, that they call houses and cities; they make a figure in dress and equipage; they love, they fight, they dispute, they cheat, they betray!'"²⁶ How poor and insignificant a thing is human life, how petty and unimportant are human interests! One would suppose that the Dean set no value upon his former influence at court and the favors that he had been able to dispense.

The third and fourth parts are inferior to the first two, and those who have followed THACKERAY's advice and have not read them have lost little thereby. The air of probability, so closely maintained in the first half, is not preserved. The thought of a flying island is so unnatural as at once to awaken the reader's scepticism. The satire upon the employments of those who devote their time to pure mathematics and to speculative science, lacks the point of the satire of the first half of the work; DR. ARBUTHNOT's criticism of the third part is just, that

²⁴ 'Works,' Vol. xi, p. 162. ²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7, vol. i, p. 319.

²⁶ 'Works,' Vol. xi, pp. 130, 131.

it is the least successful part of the work. Most striking is the description of the Struldbrugs, doomed to a helpless old age,—strange prophecy of SWIFT's last years. Of the Voyage to the Houyhnhnms nothing need be said except that it insults and degrades the whole human race. "I am Misanthropos, and hate mankind," might serve as a motto for the last half of 'Gulliver's Travels;' and so vigorous was the Dean's hatred, where he did hate, that he showed his repulsion by heaping upon the despised object all the filth that his imagination could conceive. As LESLIE STEPHEN words it, "he becomes disgusting in the effort to express his disgust." But this gives us a one-sided view of SWIFT's character. In a letter to POPE he says, "I have ever hated all nations, professions, and communities; and all my love is toward individuals; for instance, I hate the tribe of lawyers, but I love Counsellor Such-a-one, and Judge Such-a-one: It is so with physicians, (I will not speak of my own trade,) soldiers, English, Scotch, French, and the rest. But principally I hate and detest that animal called man; although I heartily love John, Peter, Thomas, and so forth."²⁷ It is fortunate that we know of the hundreds of single instances, apart from his services to the Irish people as a whole, in which he literally went about doing good.

"When once you have thought of big men and little men, it is very easy to do all the rest,"²⁸ said DR. JOHNSON; but the justice of his criticism cannot be admitted. The difficulty is, having conceived the idea, to carry it out with logical consistency in such a manner as not to disturb any of the ordinary relations of life save this one, thus bringing it into especial prominence. The air of verisimilitude, so perfect as to lead an Irish bishop to say that "the book was full of improbable lies, and for his part, he hardly believed a word of it,"²⁹—this, no other writer but DEFOE could ever have succeeded in equaling,—certainly not the author of 'Rasselas.'

As an allegory 'Gulliver's Travels,' is very imperfect. The size of the Lilliputians and of the Brobdingnagians has no immediate connection with the allegory, which depends solely upon the transference of human qualities and interests to these peoples. Through them is expressed directly, and not by any transfer of meaning, the contempt which SWIFT felt for the

²⁷ 'Works,' Vol. xvii, p. 4. ²⁸ Boswell's 'Life of Johnson,' edited by GEORGE BIRKBECK HILL; Vol. ii, p. 319.

²⁹ "Letter to Pope," Nov. 17, 1726: 'Works,' Vol. xvii, p. 80.

human race. Except in the first part there is but little of continued allegory, though there are scattered throughout the work allegorical allusions to matters of recent or contemporary history. Instances of genuine allegory are the accounts of the methods of obtaining office and advancement at the court of Lilliput, of the high-heel and low-heel parties (Whigs and Tories), and of the Big-endians and Little-endians (Roman Catholics and Protestants). Otherwise, except for stray sentences here and there, the allegory is general in its nature, and depends upon the degree of clearness and directness with which is expressed the thought uppermost in SWIFT'S mind, that of the worthlessness and insignificance of the human race and of all its hopes and ambitions. This is frequently expressed by means of irony, which is akin to allegory;³⁰ often, however, it is stated so directly that the passage in question has no rightful claim to the name of allegory.

More worthy of the name is 'The Battle of the Books.' Stated briefly, the contest as to the relative merits of ancient and modern writers between BENTLEY and WOTTON on the one hand and SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE and BOYLE on the other, is transferred from the literary arena to an actual battlefield, and is described in the guise of an Homeric battle, with appropriate speeches and similes. The writers ancient and modern, together with their respective champions, appear in person and under their proper names; personifications, such as Criticism, Ignorance, Dulness, and Pedantry, are also introduced as characters. It is true, indeed, that the narrative says one thing and means another; but the transfer from a literary to an actual battle is so slight that, with the exception of a few scattered allusions, all the meaning seems to lie on the surface.

That SWIFT was able, when he chose, to fulfil the conditions of the allegory is abundantly proved by 'The Tale of a Tub.' This work, written before he had reached his thirtieth year, is full of spirit, wit, and power. The reader of such vigorous and effective English, employed with so much directness and point, cannot but sympathize with the feeling which prompted him to say in his old age, when his mind was gradually failing, "Good God, what a genius I had when I wrote that book!" Not only is the book his masterpiece, but it is also his best allegory;

³⁰ Cf. QUINTILLIAN, 'Inst. Orator,' viii, 6, 54. In eo vero genere, quo contraria ostenduntur, ironia est; illusionem vocant. Quae aut pronuntiatione intelligitur aut persona aut rei natura; nam, si qua earum verbis dissentit, apparet diversam esse orationi voluntatem.

Much the same thing may be affirmed of Euphemism; perhaps also of Litotes.

indeed one would hazard little in making the assertion that it is the best sustained allegory that ever was written.

Three brothers, born at a birth, named Peter, Martin, and Jack, represent the Roman Catholics, the Church of England, and the Dissenters. To these brothers their fathers had bequeathed a coat with strict injunctions never to make any alteration in it; this coat is evidently the Christian religion. In his will, that is, the Bible, were careful instructions as to how the coat should be worn. After seven years, that is, centuries, of faithful obedience, the brothers fell in with three ladies in great reputation at that time, the Duchess d'Argent, Madame de Grand Titres, and the Countess d'Orgueil. A short digression gives us the germ of the "clothes-philosophy," afterwards developed by CARLYLE, whereby fine feathers make fine birds. This philosophy being in vogue at that time, as since, the three brothers found their coats decidedly out of fashion and themselves out of favor. Though the will said not a word about shoulder-knots, which were then "the only wear," yet one of the brothers, "more book-learned than the other two," found that the various letters of the word could be picked out separately, with the exception of K; and it was soon discovered that C was the equivalent of K. The interpretation is obvious. In the same skillful manner are allegorized tampering with manuscripts, oral tradition, the use of images, withholding the Bible from the common people, the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, the doctrine of purgatory, penance, confession, absolution, indulgences, holy water, the celibacy of the clergy, transubstantiation, withholding the cup from the laity. Starting with the three brothers, the coat, and the will, as the basis of his allegory, he follows with amazing ingenuity the history of the Church through the centuries of corruption to the Reformation, and thence onward far enough to show the divisions that arose after the Reformation and the growth of sects. Such close and logical correspondence between the sign and the thing signified, it would be difficult to parallel elsewhere in an allegory that possesses a vital interest.

MACAULAY's statement that 'The Tale of a Tub' swarms with errors³¹ in the conduct of its allegory, is not borne out by examination. Some parts, indeed, are expressed more directly than others; such are the celibacy of the clergy and the temporal power of the Pope, which it is scarcely possible to express

31 "Essay on Bunyan," 1830.

otherwise than directly. In the entire narrative there are no personifications save those named above of wealth, ambition and pride. The allegory is necessarily historical, and that this is not the highest kind of allegory I shall have occasion later to show. In such an allegory and with the kind of figures that SWIFT habitually employed, there was little opportunity for true and ennobling symbolism. Setting aside all that should be deducted for the absence of two so important aids to the highest degree of success, and bearing in mind what SWIFT undertook to do, his allegory is well nigh perfect. The main lines of his narrative were already marked out for him; troublesome details he could omit, if he chose, but in the more important points he had no power of choice. His task was to contrive a close correspondence to the actual history of the church; and this he did in a masterly manner.

Less than one third of 'The Tale of a Tub' is concerned with the actual subject; about one third is occupied by dedications and preface, and more than a third by digressions. This certainly does not give an impression of unity; and I must confess to skipping all the digressions, in my first reading of the work. FOSTER says that in all SWIFT'S writing "whether the subject be great or small, everything in it from the first word to the last is essentially a part of it; not an episode or allusion being introduced merely for itself, but every minutest point not only harmonizing or consisting with the whole, but expressly supporting and strengthening it."³² Another passage, a few lines farther on will make clear the meaning of that already quoted: "Proper significance has never by any of his biographers or critics been given to the fact that the corruptions of religion and the abuses of learning handled in the 'Tale of a Tub' are but the continued pursuit, in another form, of the controversy between the claims of ancients and moderns."³³ An explanation like that given above is certainly needed to remove the feeling that SWIFT is riding two horses at once. The digression upon "clothes-philosophy" is a necessary part of the work; and the eighth section on inspiration and fanatical pretenders thereto forms a fitting introduction to the further history of Jack: but the Digression concerning Critics, the Digression in the Modern Kind, and the Digression in praise of Digressions, are directed against BENTLEY and WOTTON as truly as any part of 'The Battle of the Books,' and would be equally

³² 'Life of Swift,' p. 108. ³³ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

in place, if printed with that work. The spirit of both books is the same, that it is to the ancients that we must go for the fountain-heads of wisdom and truth; and the digressions, while they interrupt the unity of the narrative, nevertheless strengthen the general impression.

After one has read the unclerical language of this *Rabelais perfectionné*, much as he may admire its wit and power, he has no feeling of surprise that SWIFT failed to receive the bishopric which he so earnestly desired, and for which his own mental and executive powers so well fitted him. It is true that his satire is aimed at the abuses of religion, and not at religion itself; and it is also true that SWIFT could claim that his ridicule was directed only against Roman Catholics and Dissenters, and was really in the service of the Established Church; but it was dangerous to give preferment to one who, with so little regard for conventionalities, might turn so powerful a pen against the church which had honored him.

C. In what mood ought the reader to approach SPENSER? Says COLERIDGE, "No one can appreciate Spenser without some reflection on the nature of allegorical writing:"³⁴ MILTON in the 'Areopagitica' calls him, "Our sage and serious poet Spenser, whom I dare be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas." On the other hand, HAZLITT tells us that if people "do not meddle with the allegory, the allegory will not meddle with them;"³⁵ and LOWELL declares that "we may fairly leave the allegory on one side."³⁶

"A perfect judge will read each work of wit
With the same spirit that its author writ,"

and SPENSER in his letter to Sir Walter Raleigh, added to the first three books of "The Faerie Queene," has made clear the spirit in which the poem was written: "The generall end therefore of all the booke is to fashion a gentleman or noble person in vertuous and gentle discipline." Evidently SPENSER did not feel that the allegory could be left on one side; it was of first importance that its meaning be clearly understood. "Knowing how doubtfully all Allegories may be construed, and this booke of mine being a continued Allegory, or darke conceit, I have thought good aswell for auoyding of gealous opinions and misconstructions, as also for your better light in reading thereof, to discover unto you the general intention and

³⁴ 'Works,' American Edition, Vol. iv, p. 247. ³⁵ 'Lectures on the English Poets,' Lecture ii. ³⁶ 'Among my Books,' Vol. ii, p. 177.

meaning, which in the whole course thereof I have fashioned." I see no reason for doubting SPENSER's words as to his purpose in writing, mingled though that purpose may have been with flattery, hopes of worldly gain, and a desire for fame; and it is as an allegory that I wish to consider 'The Faerie Queene.'

A poet must meet the same requirements as a writer of prose, both in narrative and in allegory. Indeed poets themselves are the severest critics in this matter. It is expected that a poet be briefer and more direct in his utterance than a writer of prose. This directness and brevity give to the winged words of a poet increase of power, and win for him a more attentive hearing. No demurrer then should be made by a poet's admirers, if he, too, is held closely to the requirements of movement, method, and unity.

The longest poem in English that is read ought certainly to have method; and at first thought 'The Faerie Queene' is admirably planned in this respect. Each book is to have as its central figure a knight, dedicated to the service of "the greatest Gloriana, Queene of Faerie lond," who is to embody one of "the twelue priuate morall vertues, as Aristotile hath deuised." The adventures of these knights in their various quests are to be bound together through Prince Arthur, in whom the poet "sets forth magnificence in particular, which vertue is the perfection of all the rest, and containeth in it them all." The scheme itself is good, and promises both method and unity; the difficulty is in carrying it out successfully, when it is planned on so extensive a scale that the adventures of one knight occupy a space equal to half the *Odyssey*. Had SPENSER lived to write the second six books, and then "to frame the other part of politticke vertues" in twelve additional books, we should have a poem of the length of twelve *Odysseys*. In its fragmentary form of six books, longer than the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* together, it frightens away readers; MACAULAY, often as he alludes to 'The Faerie Queene,' and omnivorous reader though he was, betrays the fact that he never made his way to the end of the poem. And in truth SPENSER's own energy and interest in his work seem to have flagged more than once. We do not suspect him of weariness when he says at the beginning of the last canto of Book I:—

"Behold I see the hauen nigh at hand,
To which I meane my wearie course to bend;" 37

but the thought can scarcely be avoided when twenty thousand verses farther on we find him vigorously disclaiming any fatigue,—

"The waies, through which my wearie steps I guyde
In this delightfull land of Faery,
Are so exceeding spacious and wyde,
And sprinckled with such sweet variety,
Of all that pleafant is to eare or eye,
That I nigh rauifht with rare thoughts delight,
My tedious trauell doe forget thereby;
And when I gin to feele decay of might,
It strength to me supplies, & chears my dulled fpright."³⁸

In the first three books SPENSER brings before us so many characters that they become unmanageable. He has already failed to make good his claim, when he says.

"Like as a fhip, that through the Ocean wyde
Directs her courfe vnto one certaine coft,
Is met of many a counter winde and tyde,
With which her winged fpeed is let and croft,
And fhe her felfe in stormie furies toft;
Yet making many a borde, and many a bay,
Still winneth way, ne hath her compaffe loft;
Right fo it fares with me in this long way,
Whofe courfe is often stayd, but neuer is aftray."³⁹

As he tries to pick up the stray threads of his narrative, he himself sometimes forgets what his characters did last and what they are to do next. At the end of canto vi, in Book I, Sir Satyrane is fighting with the Paynim knight Sansloy, while Una is fleeing for safety. SPENSER says that to tell "this battels end will need another place," but of the result of this battle we never heard a word. In the remaining sixty-six cantos of the poem SPENSER's attention was too much occupied to remember Sansloy, whom he did not need again; and when he wishes the help of Sir Satyrane twenty-five cantos farther on, he has forgotten that he left him fighting. When the Amazonian princess, Radigund, by guile subdued Artegall, "for feare of further harmes" she broke his sword Chrysaor;⁴⁰ yet in the same book we find Artegall slaying the giant Grantorto with the same sword.⁴¹ In answer to the dwarf Dony, who tells him of the loss of Florimel, Prince Arthur says,

"For till thou tidings learne, what her betide,
I here auow thee neuer to forfake."⁴²

Yet in the fourth book Arthur makes his customary appearance

³⁸ 'The Faerie Queene,' vi, Introduction 1. ³⁹ 'The Faerie Queene,' vi., xii, 1.
⁴⁰ 'The Faerie Queene,' V, 7, 21, ⁴¹ *Ibid.*, xii, 23. ⁴² *Ibid.*, III, v, 11.

in the eighth canto and overcomes Corflambo, while he has apparently forgotten his promise to the dwarf who appears alone in the fifth book.⁴³ The girdle of Florimel, which Vulcan made for Venus, the test of wifely constancy, certainly fills an important place in the fourth and fifth cantos of Book IV.; first there is jousting for its possession, and afterward the ladies strive to see who can wear it. This girdle which Florimel has lost in the third book,⁴⁴ when mentioned in the fifth book has become a scarf.⁴⁵

These are some of the most glaring discrepancies in the poem, but the list might be extended; in the second edition of the first three books, SPENSER corrected one serious error of the kind.⁴⁶ Without attributing too much importance to such errors, for a single case of inadvertence would not be worth noticing, it is evident that 'The Faerie Queene' is planned upon so large a scale as to be unwieldy, if not unmanageable.

"Now turne againe my teme thou iolly fwayne,
Backe to the furrow which I lately left;
I lately left a furrow, one or twayne
Vnplough'd, the which my coulter hath not cleft."⁴⁷

So extensive is the field that SPENSER has to till, that he has constantly to turn back to furrows, not merely one or twayne in number, that he has left unfinished. The effect upon the reader is confusing; he is less able than SPENSER to keep clearly in mind the inter-relation of the different characters, their aims and failures in the various quests undertaken.

The movement of 'The Faerie Queene' is usually constant and rapid; but the progress of the principal narrative is sometimes unduly delayed by the action of minor characters. Moreover, SPENSER occasionally resorts to what looks very like padding to fill out the measure of twelve cantos to each book. We are unwilling to give up anything that a genius has written, whether it be worthy of his best powers or not; but I cannot look upon the Marriage of the Thames and the Medway,⁴⁸ with its catalogue of sea-nymphs, as anything but so much padding, poetically treated indeed, but suggesting too strongly the interminable 'Polyolbion.' Much less endurable are the genealogies of Prince Arthur⁴⁹ and of the descendants of Artegall,⁵⁰ which serve the double purpose of padding and of flattery.

* 43 'The Faerie Queene,' V, ii, 2. 44 'The Faerie Queene,' III., vii, 36.

45 *Ibid.*, V., ii, 3. 46 *Ibid.*, II, ix, 7, and II, ix, 38. 47 'The Faerie Queene,' VI, ix, 1.

48 'The Faerie Queene,' IV, xi. 49 *Ibid.*, II, x. 50 *Ibid.*, III, iii.

Not much more can be said of the unity of the work: Undoubtedly SPENSER intended to create an unity of interest by the character of Prince Arthur; but he certainly did not succeed in doing so. Prince Arthur, notwithstanding the glowing description that SPENSER gives of him, does not make upon the mind so definite an impression as the Red Cross Knight, Sir Guyon, Sir Artegall, or Sir Calidore. Bishop Hurd says that the poem has "an unity of design, and not of action;"⁵¹ but the difficulty is that the execution is greatly inferior to the original plan. It would have been well if SPENSER had been content with Prince Arthur as a connecting link between the different books. No important purpose is subserved, and little interest is added by the re-appearance of characters from earlier books in the midst of new adventures undertaken by new characters. Especially is this true of the re-appearance of leading characters, like that of the Red Cross Knight in Book II, and again in Book III; his quest is successfully accomplished, and nothing is gained by his continuance as a character of minor importance. Each knight while on his quest falls into difficulties from which he is relieved by Prince Arthur, who usually makes his appearance in the eighth canto. In the third book, however, where the adventure is undertaken by Britomart, "a lady knight," Prince Arthur has little to do, and is unsuccessful in what he attempts; though Belpheobe comes upon the scene in this book, Britomart is never overcome and needs no aid. THOMAS WARTON says: "The poet might either have established twelve knights without an Arthur, or an Arthur without twelve knights,"⁵² and here, at least, he seems to be right. The character of Prince Arthur is more necessary to the allegory than to the story. It would have simplified the narrative greatly, if the adventurous knights, since each must accomplish his quest unaided, had on leaving the court gone in different directions, instead of taking paths that would cross; Faery land is wide enough for this, had the poet thus chosen. It is easier to read and remember six stories entirely independent, than six stories essentially independent, but nevertheless interwoven.

Much of SPENSER's allegory is historical, and this introduces additional complications. When an allegory is entirely historical, the whole interest is in tracing out the history which is

⁵¹ Todd's Edition of Spenser, Vol II, p. clviii.

⁵² 'Observations on the Faery Queen of Spenser,' Vol, i, p. 10.

"clowdily enwrapped" therein, and in noting the ingenuity with which the narrative is constructed and the correspondence maintained; but where there is also a moral or spiritual allegory, the interest is transferred to that which is higher, and the historical meaning is felt to be an intrusion, or at best an addition. Moral or spiritual allegory is a greater tax upon the poet's invention, because he is required to construct two narratives, the one expressed by appropriate images suggesting that which is suppressed; more is demanded of him, but he is free to follow the bent of his imagination. In historical allegory the task laid upon the inventive power is to translate actual occurrences into other events, so arranged as to progress with the naturalness of life, provided a clue be given at the outset. Of this kind of allegory the best example is, as I have said, 'The Tale of a Tub.'

When, however, an attempt is made to combine an historical meaning with a moral allegory, one or the other is likely to suffer thereby; it is scarcely possible that both shall be equally distinct. The historical meaning may add to the interest, but it will usually detract from the power of the spiritual meaning. This is true of SPENSER's allegory. Where a spiritual meaning is clearly set forth, the historical meaning is so slight as scarcely to be noted; but as the historical meaning becomes more prominent, the spiritual meaning gradually recedes into the background and vanishes from sight. If we are told that Sir Calidore is Sir Philip Sidney and that Timias is Sir Walter Raleigh, we may answer that the fact is interesting, but that the poem is none the finer for it: if we are told that Blandamour is the Earl of Northumberland and Paridel the Earl of Westmoreland, we may rightfully answer: that is nothing to me; Unaa nd Sir Guyon interest me more. The spiritual and moral allegory must always be a higher form than the historical: the latter is curious, while the former may be much more than that.

The interest of an historical allegory must depend upon the importance of the events depicted in it, and upon the degree of information possessed by the reader. As regards the first, SPENSER was fortunate in that he lived in the most interesting period of English history, and among men and women in whom the world will always have interest; and either his friendships were so fortunate or his instinct so true, that few of the historical characters whom he has placed in 'The Faerie Queene' are unimportant or uninteresting. The obscurity of the historical

allusions was often intentional; it was necessary that events fresh in the minds of men should "be shewed at half-lights." Such, for example, is the allusion to Queen Elizabeth's discovery of Sir Walter Raleigh's intrigue with Elizabeth Throckmorton,⁵³ and the displeasure that was visited upon both.⁵⁴ Regard for SPENSER's own welfare would forbid his doing more than to hint obscurely at the questionable acts of noblemen whose families were still powerful; in his description of the trial of Mary, Queen of Scots, he could not venture to indicate more plainly than he has done, the Earls of Westmoreland, Northumberland, and Leicester, and the Lord Treasurer Burleigh.⁵⁵ Doubtless for the purpose of sheltering himself SPENSER intentionally makes his allegory inconsistent. Queen Elizabeth is Britomart and Belpheobe in the same book; Elizabeth Throckmorton is Amoret in Book IV, and Serena in Book VI; yet Serena is not married to Timias. So in many other cases the allegory is designedly obscure. Sir Philip Sidney is Sir Calidore. Is he ever Prince Arthur? And is the Earl of Leicester always intended by Prince Arthur? He must be in Book V. Queen Elizabeth is Gloriana; she is also Belpheobe, Mercilla, Tanaquil, perhaps Britomart, possibly Amoret. Mary, Queen of Scots, is Duessa, perhaps Amoret and Florimel. Such inconsistency and obscurity may have been necessary in a poem to be read by those who could interpret more readily and more unerringly than we can; but, whether necessary or not, it is a blemish. The allegory is rendered obscure; and to the extent that it is obscure or doubtful, it is valueless for us.

To three men in especial, Sir Philip Sidney, Lord Grey of Wilton, and the Earl of Leicester, SPENSER looked as his patrons and friends. Remembering what friendship meant in the sixteenth century, that it was placed even above wedded love, we cannot call it flattery that he gives to each of these friends a high place in his poem. That he spoke none too highly of the first is universally admitted; and though Talus, rather than Sir Artegall, might seem to be the better representative of Lord Grey, yet we honor SPENSER all the more for adhering to his former patron after he had lost the royal favor. Upon the Earl of Leicester alone can we say that SPENSER's praise is bestowed unworthily; it is useless to attempt to explain the contrast between SPENSER's real and his ideal hero. Of Sir Walter Raleigh it must be said that SPENSER does not spare

53 'The Faerie Queene,' IV, vii, 36. 54 *Ibid.*, VI, vi. 55 'The Faerie Queene,' V, ix.

him, and that "the Shepherd of the Ocean" does not make a very creditable appearance in this poem. Knowing as we do from "Mother Hubberds Tale" and from "The Ruines of Time" what were SPENSER'S real feelings toward Lord Burleigh, we must look upon the dedicatory sonnet to him as a piece of flattery.

One historical allusion SPENSER takes no pains to veil. Under whatever name he sings the praises of Queen Elizabeth, all the world may know the subject of his song. Remembering all that had happened in Queen Elizabeth's reign to call forth the patriotism of her subjects, and how worthy she was of their love and admiration, we cannot call it flattery, when he writes of her as follows:

"Thus she did fit in fouerayne Maiestie,
Holding a Scepter in her royall hand,
The sacred pledge of peace and clemencie,
With which high God had blest her happie land,
Maugre so many foes, which did withstand.
But at her feet her sword was likewise layde,
Whose long rest rusted the bright steely brand;
Yet when as foes enforst, or friends fought ayde,
She could it sternely draw, that all the world difmayde.

Thus did she fit in royall rich estate,
Admyr'd of many, honoured of all.—"⁵⁶

Of such praise we can only say that it is just and fitting. But when he sings of her beauty in rapturous strains, when he attributes to her a superlative share in every virtue that he mentions, when he calls her the "Queene of Love," and uses language like the following of a woman sixty-three years old:—

"Do thou dred infant, *Venus* dearling doue,
From her high spirit chafe imperious feare,
And vse of awfull Maiestie remoue:
In sted thereof with drops of melting loue,
Deawd with ambrosiall kisses, by thee gotten
From thy sweete smyling mother from above,
Sprinkle her heart, and haughtie courage soften,

That she may hearke to love, and reade this lesson often,"⁵⁷

to such language we can give no name but flattery. Under whatever name he speaks of Queen Elizabeth,—Gloriana, Belphoebe, or fairest Tanaquil,—her beauty must be praised. He does not venture to extol the beauty and virtues of his wife without offering an apology:

⁵⁶ "The Faerie Queene," V, ix, 30, 33.

⁵⁷ "The Faerie Queene," IV, Int. 5.

"Sunne of the world, great glory of the sky,
That all the earth doest lighten with thy rayes,
Great *Gloriana*, greateft Maiefty,
Pardon thy shepheard, mongft fo many layes,
As he hath fung of thee in all his dayes,
To make one minime of thy poore handmayd."⁵⁸

"It is often ludicrous," says CHRISTOPHER NORTH, "to witness SPENSER's trepidation on finding that he had gone too far in praise of beauty. Whether speaking in his own character or that of another, he checks himself at full speed and lugs in the Queen. Sure as fate, there comes in that everlasting Cynthia."⁵⁹

Much faithful study has been given to the allegory of 'The Faerie Queene' by editors and critics; and it is probably understood as well now as it ever will be. Notwithstanding all the time that has been spent upon it, the allegory in many points remains obscure. If this obscurity was necessary in the historical meaning, we have certainly a right to expect that the moral allegory shall be clear; that while much of the poet's meaning may be apparent only to the thoughtful reader, an earnest effort to discover it shall not go unrewarded. In its broad general features the allegory is unmistakably clear; but numerous details, which in a continued allegory are supposed to possess some significance, are very obscure. This doubtful meaning meets us so soon as the third canto of the first book, the most consistent and carefully planned of all. Una, forsaken by the Red Cross Knight, is defended by a lion. This lion, says KITCHIN, is "the emblem of natural honor, paying the tribute of instinctive reverence to Truth;" RUSKIN explains it as "Violence which makes her dreaded wherever she comes;" UPTON says it means "King Henry VIII and his accession to the Reformed Church." None of these interpretations is unreasonable, but they cannot all be true. The last is the most probable, especially when we remember the slaying of Kirkrapine in the house of Corceca (Blind Devotion) and Abessa (Monastic Superstition), which may best be referred to the suppression of the monasteries in the reign of King Henry VIII. If this is the true interpretation, the allegory is historical; then the question arises, has it also a spiritual meaning. Though there is some similarity in the last two interpretations, an allegory that is capable of three explanations differing so widely cannot be called clear.

⁵⁸ 'The Faerie Queene,' VI, x, 28. ⁵⁹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, Nov. 1833: Vol. xxxiv, p. 849.

There is a like difficulty in understanding who are meant by the parents of Una,

"that auncient Lord and aged Queene,
Arayd in antique robes downe to the ground,"

so long "emprisoned in the brafen towre." They are the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, says CHRISTOPHER NORTH, and it is certainly appropriate that Truth should be the child of the Scriptures. He sets aside his own interpretation, however, in favor of that of UPTON: Adam is the father of Una,—the first Adam who lost Eden through the power of the dragon, but was restored to it by "the Messiah, the second Adam," imaged in the Christian knight. Surely it is inappropriate that Una,—Christian Truth,—should be represented as the child of the first Adam.

At the end of Book I. Una and the Red Cross Knight are happily betrothed to one another: if this means that Holiness and Truth are made one, then why does Holiness shortly take his departure for the court of the Faerie Queene? The truth is that Una and the Red Cross Knight are not the same persons at the end of the book as they were when they began their journey in company. First "a tall clownish younge man," then a knight beset with human weaknesses, struggling and sinning, yet not utterly cast down, then "Saint George of mery England," perhaps England itself, finally the Messiah, who regains the paradise lost by the first Adam, and departs into heaven (for so we must interpret the court of the Faerie Queene), leaving here below the struggling Una, type of the church militant. So Una undergoes a change of character the reverse in its nature of that experienced by the Red Cross Knight. At the beginning of the book she is the immaculate guide and counsellor of the Red Cross Knight, who would often go astray, if it were not for her warnings; at the end there is a sudden change in her relation to him. This discrepancy cannot be explained satisfactorily. Una cannot be at one and the same time the child of the first Adam, Christian Truth, and the church militant; and it is difficult to see where the transition is made.

In one of a most interesting and suggestive series of articles in *Blackwood's Magazine* for 1834, 1835, CHRISTOPHER NORTH says in his exuberant manner that would fain take the reader by storm and make his judgment captive, "'An allegory,' says Hughes, somewhat nettled, 'which is not clear, is a riddle,' and conscious, perhaps that he was himself no Œdipus, he is intol-

erant of Sphinx."⁶⁰ This is not criticism. Must the reader, then, be an Œdipus, if he is to fathom the meaning of 'The Faerie Queene'? It is evident that much of the interpretation is nothing more than skilful guesswork. If the teaching of moral truth is a writer's confessed aim, it is not too much to demand that the truth shall be set forth in terms that shall be intelligible to the thoughtful reader; otherwise his work is certain to meet the fate of all obscure writers, that of being misunderstood, if not neglected. Such has been the fate of 'The Faerie Queene' at the hands of many readers; only a man of abundant leisure can read the poem as SPENSER would have it read. Yet no allegory, save those of DANTE and of GOETHE, has ever been studied with more loving care than that of SPENSER. The very fact that the poem requires so much study to get at its true meaning, and will yield such varying interpretations, is a proof of its obscurity.

It remains to be said that much of 'The Faerie Queene' is not genuine allegory, though it usually passes under that name. The House of Pride, where Pride and her "six sage counselors," Idleness, Gluttony, Lechery, Avarice, Envy, and Wrath, pass in procession before us is an instance, not of allegory, but of vivid personification. There is no hidden meaning; nothing is suppressed, but we are told in the most direct manner that Pride, that sin by which the angels fell, has as attendants and companions, the rest of the seven deadly sins. There is no attempt at concealment; rather the attempt is at complete identification. The same is true of Error, Sansloy and his brothers, and Despair in the first book; these are personifications, while Una, the Red Cross Knight, Duessa, Archimago, Orgoglio, are allegorical characters. In the case of the last, but not of the first, "more is meant than meets the ear." In the character of Una, SPENSER might have stopped at the personification of the abstract idea of Truth; but he did more than this. In much of the action in which Una takes part the hidden meaning differs from the surface meaning, thus making her an allegorical character. That is to say, personifications may become allegorical, not by virtue of being personifications, but by taking part in allegorical action.

The difference between personification and allegory was

pointed out by HALLAM,⁶¹ and long before him by LESSING,⁶² who makes a distinction between the personified abstractions of the poet and the allegorical figures indicated by symbols of the artist. Allegorical symbols, which are necessary to the artist, he asserts are out of keeping in poetry, since poetry needs, not symbolical, or as he calls them allegorical attributes, but what he terms poetical attributes. LESSING'S point of view is different from the present, as he is treating of the use of allegory in painting and in sculpture, and of the limitations of its use in poetry as contrasted with the limits of pictorial art; but he makes precisely the distinction that I wish to emphasize, with the further deduction that personifications become allegorical only through action.

This again makes clear the distinction that personification aims at presenting a thought vividly and definitely, while symbolism expresses it indefinitely to the imagination. Take one of SPENSER'S most vivid personifications:

"And next to him malicious *Enuie* rode,
 Vpon a rauinous wolfe, and still did chaw
 Betweene his cankred teeth a venomous tode,
 That all the poifon ran about his chaw;
 But inwardly he chawed his owne maw
 At neighbours wealth, that made him euer sad;
 For death it was, when any good he saw,
 And wept, that cause of weeping none he had,
 But when he heard of harme, he wexed wondrous glad.
 He hated all good workes and vertuous deeds,
 And him no lesse, that any like did vse,
 And who with gracious bread the hungry feeds,
 His almes for want of faith he doth accuse;
 So every good to bad he doth abuse:
 And eke the verse of famous Poets witt
 He does backebite, and spightfull poison spues
 From leproous mouth on all, that euer writt;
 Such one vile *Enuie* was, that fitt in row did fitt."⁶³

This is masterly as personification, so vivid that nothing is left for the imagination to do.⁶⁴ SPENSER may have meant more than he said in the last four verses, but they can scarcely be called allegorical. There is symbolism in the following stanza:—

"All in a kirtle of difcoloured fay
 He clothed was, ypainted full of eyes;

⁶¹ 'Introduction to the Literature of Europe,' American edition; Vol. ii, p. 231. ⁶² See Note A, pp. 192-193; quotation from LESSING'S 'Laocoon.'

⁶³ 'The Faerie Queene,' I, iv, 30, 32. ⁶⁴ AUBREY DE VERE calls this vulgar allegory; rather it is repulsive, as SPENSER intended it to be.

And in his bofome secretly there lay
 An hatefull Snake, the which his taile vptyes
 In many folds, and mortall sting implyes.
 Still as he rode, he gnafht his teeth, to fee
 Those heapes of gold with griple Covetyse,
 And grudged at the great felicitie

Of proud *Lucifera*, and his owne companie ;''⁶⁵

but the impression left by the whole passage is that of a distinct personification. The characterization in the last two verses is equal to that of the miser in *MOLIÈRE'S* 'L'Avare,' who, when his gold had disappeared, suspected every one including himself. Compare the whole passage with *CLOUGH'S* allegory, and note again how the suggestiveness of the latter sets the reader's imagination at work and imposes no bounds upon it.

The second book is a work of fiction through which there runs a slight vein of allegory. Sir Guyon and Acrasia are hero and heroine much in the same sense that Elinor and Marianne Dashwood are the heroines of 'Sense and Sensibility ;' that is to say, they are types of character. The purpose of the book is to teach the lesson of Temperance, and this is done in the most direct manner. At the beginning of the book the death of Mordant through excess in drink and of his wife, Amavia, through immoderate grief, serves as a warning against lack of self-restraint. The second canto teaches by what means self-restraint is to be gained ; neither by total abstinence nor by indulgence, but by the Aristotelian doctrine of the mean. Of this abstract doctrine Perissa, Medina, and Elissa, furnish concrete illustrations. Braggadochio and Belpheobe are personifications of boastful cowardice and of the serene majesty that knows no fear. The lesson of temperance is continued in the episode of Phedon, who is the victim of immoderate wrath, jealousy, grief, and love, and who is given over into the power of Furor. In the same vein, Sir Guyon overcomes Cymochles and Pyrochles, personifications of ungovernable passion, sons of Wrath and Despight, and brothers of Anger ; thus he has withstood successfully the temptations to anger, as well as that of Phaedria or immodest mirth. In the seventh canto, the most powerful in the book, the famous description of the Cave of Mammon, he is again successful in withstanding the temptations of wealth, and of ambition personified in Philotime, daughter of Mammon ; yet these temptations assail him with so much force that he is well-nigh overcome, and falls into a swoon when

⁶⁵ 'The Faerie Queene,' I, iv, 31.

they have been successfully resisted. Indeed he is powerless before the fresh assaults of Pyrochles and Cymochles, were it not for the opportune aid of Prince Arthur or Magnanimity. The ninth canto contains the only continued allegory in the book, that of the House of Temperance; and of all SPENSER'S allegories it is the most arbitrary and artificial. The human body is allegorized in the same way that FLETCHER and QUARLES,—and we must add BUNYAN,—have treated it. Alma is the mind, who is a wise ruler over her house; her castle is the human body, for each member of which some analogy is found. A comparison with 'The Purple Island' will show that, except in the point of versification, there is little to choose between the two. The long roll of worthies in the tenth canto may perhaps serve to Sir Guyon as examples of noble deeds to be emulated. Finally the castle of Alma is besieged by twelve troops which represent the seven deadly sins and the temptations that assail the five senses; under their captain Maleger, sick of evil, attended by the two hags, Impotence and Impatience, they are overcome by Prince Arthur. Meantime Sir Guyon is in search of the Bower of Bliss wherein dwells Acrasia, the personification of Intemperance; without hesitating, he surprises her and binds her in chains of adamant.

It will be noticed how small a part of the book is allegorical; very little is suppressed. Aside from those characters connected with the House of Alma, the only allegorical character is that of the black palmer, who represents reason or the prudence that advises self-control. Nearly all the allegorical action of the book is that in which he takes part. Thus, when Sir Guyon goes alone with Phaedria (Immodest Mirth) in her boat, while the Palmer is left on the strand, it is clearly taught that when Self-control gives itself up to Idleness under the guidance of Immodest Mirth, Reason is left behind. Another instance of genuine allegory is the fiend that followed Sir Guyon while in the Cave of Mammon; also Sir Guyon's swoon when he came out of the cave. For the most part, however, Sir Guyon is a type; Amavia and Mordant are types; Braggadocio and Trompart, if they represent the Duke of Anjou and Simier, are historical allegory, otherwise they are personifications. Belpheobe, who represents Queen Elizabeth, is historical allegory. All the other characters are personifications and nothing more; that is to say, they do not partake in any allegorical action, but show forth their nature by consistent action. A comparison, side by

side, of the amount of personification and of allegory will show a strikingly large proportion of personification. Allegorical characters; the palmer, Alma, perhaps the babe Ruddymane: historical allegory; Belpheobe, Braggadochio, Trompart: personifications; Medina, Perissa, Elissa, Braggadochio, Trompart, Furor, Occasion, Atin, Cymochles, Pyrochles, Phaedria, Mammon, Philotime, Maleger, Impotence, Impatience, Acrasia. The attendants in the Cave of Mammon, namely Avarice, Revenge, Despight, Treason, Hate, Gealosity, Feare, Sorrow, Shame, Horror, Richesse, Care, Force, Fraud, Sleepe, Disdain, ought not, perhaps, to be counted to swell the number; without regard to them, it is sufficiently clear that the action of the book is carried on by continued personifications, acting in accordance with their natural characters. Of hidden meaning, very little can be found. I have made similar comparisons for each of the six books, and the results, though differing somewhat in proportion, confirm the result arrived at above.

In the third book there is even less of allegory. Britomart, Belpheobe, Amoret, Florimel, are types of chastity; while Malecasta, the false Florimel, Hellenore, Argante, are types of unchastity. I cannot discover any meaning for Scudamour, unless it be constancy in love. The aged Glauce corresponds to Una in Book I, and to the black palmer in Book II. Sir Satyrane, Marinell, Timias, Belpheobe, and Paridell, are allegorical only in an historical sense. Indeed the whole book is an expansion of the last canto of Book II, except that Britomart is not really tempted, while Sir Guyon meets temptation and comes off conqueror. The fourth book, the first of the second instalment, is one of the most confusing. No new adventure is undertaken, but many new characters come upon the scene and weave themselves into inextricable confusion. They are all types of friendship, true or false, "of enmitie that of no ill proceeds," as in the cases of Cambell and Triamond, and of "friendship without regard of good," as in the cases of Blandamour and Paridell. Several of the characters are allegorical, but only historically so; such are Blandamour, Paridell, Timias, Belpheobe. In Book V, the moral allegory is confined to Talus, the man with the iron flail; he represents the executive power which accompanies Justice, "for Power is the right hand of Justice truly hight." The last third of the book is full of historical allegory, setting forth the Spanish war in the Netherlands, the suppression of the Irish rebellion of 1580, and the con-

demnation of Mary, Queen of Scots. Few of the leading characters are personifications; rather they are historical characters, veiled under new names. Book VI is likewise free from any hidden meaning except that which is historical. It narrates the story of Sir Philip Sidney's marriage with Frances Walsingham, the episode of Sir Walter Raleigh and Elizabeth Throckmorton, and sings the praises of SPENSER's wife, Elizabeth. Not greatly to his credit, SPENSER takes the opportunity to treat with contempt the Rosalind to whose hard heart he had years before laid unsuccessful siege. The lesson of Courtesy is taught in the concrete example of Sir Calidore, who represents Sir Philip Sidney.

The two cantos of Mutability, which contain some of SPENSER's finest poetry, are full of masterly personification, but contain no allegory. Of SPENSER's minor poems 'Mother Hubberds Tale' and 'Colin Clouts Come Home Againe' are examples of historical allegory of the most interesting kind; words to the wise, they disclose "at half-lights" what SPENSER did not venture or choose to utter openly. Nowhere has he made more fitting use of this kind of allegory. 'The Ruines of Time' offer a series of riddles, which are to be interpreted historically. In 'The Shepherds Calender' the allegory is chiefly historical, and is of varying degrees of interest. 'Muiopotmos,' of which CHRISTOPHER NORTH says rightly that "outside of the magic circle of the Faerie Queene there is nothing so beautiful in Spenser," belongs to the higher kind of allegory, and it is to be interpreted spiritually.

DE QUINCEY's remark concerning the difficulty that arises when allegorical characters are brought into situations that are not allegorical,⁶⁶ is especially applicable to SPENSER's allegory; it was impossible to move his numerous characters without constantly bringing them into situations not allegorical. And so, consciously or unconsciously, SPENSER has exemplified nearly all his virtues in the first two books, within which limit indeed there was space enough. As KITCHIN has remarked, the allegory of the Red Cross Knight is spiritual, that of Sir Guyon is moral; in the two books is portrayed in full the character of a Christian gentleman. Holiness and Truth are met together in the first book; the golden mean of Temperance is an all-embracing virtue. What more is needed? Is it chastity? Sir Guyon has successfully withstood temptation, and Britomart

⁶⁶ See p. 155.

does no more?' Is it courtesy? This has been already presented in the person of Sir Guyon and in Prince Arthur's gentle treatment of the exasperating Ignaro:

"His reuerend hairee and holy grauitee
The knight much honourd, as befeemed well,
And gently afkt, where all the people bee,
Which in that stately building wont to dwell.
Who answerd him full soft, he could not tell.

Then asked he, which way he in might pas:
He could not tell, againe he answered.
Thereat the curteous knight displeased was.

Whose fencelesse speach, and doted ignorance
When as the noble Prince had marked well,
He ghest his nature by his countenance,
And calmd his wrath with goodly temperance."⁶⁷

Sir Satyrane also is an example of that

"honest-offered courtesy,
Which oft is sooner found in lowly sheds,
With smoky rafters, than in tapestry halls
And courts of princes, where it first was named."

In a greater or less degree, friendship is exemplified in the Red Cross Knight, Sir Guyon, and Prince Arthur. The necessity of bringing his characters into situations not allegorical caused SPENSER to abandon his original design, and to make his heroes not mere embodiments of one particular virtue, but human beings possessing several virtues and withal some share of human failings. Despite some apparent inconsistencies and defects the first book of 'The Faerie Queene' is a continued allegory of singular beauty and subtlety. Whether it is true or not that SPENSER had exhausted his vein of allegory, it is certain that he did not undertake to construct another allegory to match that of the first book. Instead of so doing he contented himself with falling back upon the less difficult and less valuable form of historical allegory, and with setting forth his ethical teaching through concrete types of character.

A word upon SPENSER'S use of symbolism. That historical allegory is necessarily arbitrary and affords but little opportunity for symbolism is so apparent that we need not delay to consider that form. It is to be noted that in SPENSER'S personifications there are frequently traces of symbolism. Take, for example, the following of Hope:

⁶⁷ 'The Faerie Queene,' I, viii, 32, 33, 34.

"Her younger sifter, that *Speranza* hight,
 Was clad in blew, that her befeemed well;
 Not all so chearefull seemed she of fight,
 As was her sifter; whether dread did dwell,
 Or anguish in her heart, is hard to tell:
 Vpon her arme a filuer anchor lay,
 Whereon she leaned euer, as befell:
 And euer vp to heauen, as she did pray,
 Her stedfast eyes were bent, ne swarued other way."⁶⁸

RUSKIN criticises the use of an anchor as a symbol of hope,⁶⁹ and prefers the following personification from the Masque of Cupid:

"With him went *Hope* in rancke, a handsome Mayd,
 Of chearefull looke and louely to behold;
 In filken samite she was light arrayd,
 And her faire lockes were wouen vp in gold;
 She alway smild, and in her hand did hold
 An holy water Sprinkle, dipt in dewe,
 With which she sprinkled fauours manifold,
 On whom she list, and did great liking sheowe,
 Great liking vnto many, but true loue to fewe."⁷⁰

SPENSER probably had in mind Hebrews VI, 19; and the second personification is not assured hope, like the first, but fallacious hope, as RUSKIN is careful to remark. If LESSING'S distinction between poetical and allegorical attributes is a true one,⁷¹ than the second personification is preferable to the first, not for the reason that RUSKIN assigns, but because it has less of symbolism. The other characters in the Masque of Cupid,—Desyre, Doubt, Daunger, Feare, Dissemblaunce, Suspect, Grief, Fury, Displeasure, and Pleasaunce,—all have symbolic attributes; inasmuch as they take part in a masque, and not in continued action, they are not unlike statues and may rightfully have the same emblems. The case is different with continued personifications such as Perissa, Furor, and Sansjoy; they become allegorical, if at all, not by symbols, but by symbolic action.

The thought constantly in SPENSER'S mind and presented symbolically throughout the allegory is that life is a battle; and that so far from seeking to avoid its difficulties, they should be sought out in a knightly spirit and manfully overcome. In addition to the leading symbol which is everywhere to be met with, are numerous symbols briefly suggested to the mind and never mentioned again. Such are the "lowly Asse more white then snow" on which Una rode, and the milk-white lamb

⁶⁸ 'The Faerie Queene,' I, x, 14. ⁶⁹ 'Stones of Venice,' Vol. II, p. 341. ⁷⁰ 'The Faerie Queene,' III, xii, 13. ⁷¹ See Note A, pp. 192-193.

which she led by her side. Of this lamb, introduced purely for its symbolic meaning, no further mention is made; and in truth it would have been an inconvenient companion, in its literal sense, to Una in all her journeying. Sir Satyrane and the troop of Fauns and Satyrs among whom Una stayed long time, are examples of continued allegory that is symbolic. The dwarf who followed Una and bore "her bag of needments at his back," is an instance of arbitrary allegory. In general, however, the allegory of the first book is truly symbolic.

IV.

Lest there may be quoted against me the couplet from 'Hudibras,'

"For all a rhetorician's rules
Teach nothing but to name his tools,"

with the addition that I have not even named with precision the tools that I have been using, I will recapitulate what I have endeavored to prove.

The distinction between allegory, metaphor, and personification is to be determined by other considerations than those of brevity or length. The metaphor is partly literal, partly figurative; the allegory is figurative throughout. Personification is definite; allegory is indefinite. Personification aims at vivid identification; metaphor aims at enlightening the eyes of our understanding; allegory aims at suggestive concealment. Personification addresses itself to the understanding; metaphor to both understanding and imagination; allegory to the imagination. Hence it follows that continued metaphor, and much more continued personification cannot be allegory, since they are different in nature and in aim. In true allegory there are always two meanings; one expressed, the other suppressed. The reader is to guess the riddle. The highest kind of allegory, the only kind that can be more than entertaining, is that which has a moral or spiritual significance, since it has to do with the things which are real, that is, which are immutable and eternal. Since such allegory is valuable, it is a grievous misfortune, nay more, a serious failure on the part of the poet, if the lesson that he has striven to teach is not discovered by the faithful reader. Nothing will conduce so much to that clearness which is indispensable in an allegory that is to avoid failure, as an appropriate and ennobling symbolism upon which the work is to be based,—the symbol being the part which will make the strongest impression and that longest to be remembered by the reader. Since

the allegory lies midway between the narrative and the didactic poem, the writer of allegory needs both constructive and imaginative power in order to be assured of complete success.

In the writings of the three men whose works I have examined with most care may be found examples of nearly every kind of allegory. It may almost be said that for each of them the allegory was the only natural form of expression. With the exception of his spiritual autobiography nothing of BUNYAN'S is now read except his allegories. Nearly all of SWIFT'S best work is in the form of allegory; all of his long works are written in that form, and only a few fragments are read beside. SPENSER seemed to be unable to write anything that was not allegory in its aim; not only 'The Faerie Queene,' but also 'Muiopotmos,' 'The Shepherds Calender,' 'Mother Hubberds Tale,' 'Colin Clouts Come Home Againe,' 'The Ruines of Time.' He could not even translate VERGIL'S 'Gnat' without giving it an allegorical significance probably never known save to a few. All his best work, except the 'Epithalamion,' is in this form; when we observe the work of contemporary poets we need some other explanation of this fact than that allegory was the literary fashion. Commenting upon 'Mother Hubberds Tale,' MR. PALGRAVE says, "Even here Spenser seems unable to present real life except in the guise of Allegory;"⁷² and again, writing about 'The Ruines of Time,' and speaking of SPENSER'S lack of insight into the character of Leicester and other of his contemporaries, he says, "The figures in an allegory he characterizes with an imaginative power of vividness rarely rivalled;—the figures of his contemporaries in actual life he could not equally define."⁷³

BUNYAN, who wrote the most widely read and best understood of all allegories, is especially concerned that the reader shall consult his interpretation supplied in running marginal notes. Footnotes are already necessary to a complete understanding of SWIFT'S historical allegories; and without venturing the assertion that footnotes are fatal to an allegory, we may safely say that they are undesirable in a book that is to be enjoyed. SPENSER publishes a poem in three books, twenty thousand lines in length; and without the explanatory letter which he was fortunately prompted to add, neither the plan of the poem nor its meaning would be intelligible. "It is a heroic

⁷² 'Essays on the Minor Poems of Spenser.' By F. T. PALGRAVE. In GROSART'S Edition of Spenser, Vol. IV, p. lxxviii. ⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. lxii.

poem, in which the heroine, who gives her name to it, never appears."⁷⁴ Surely no other writer of epic poetry ever "thrust into the midst" in such a manner. Even with the explanation given by SPENSER, his true meaning is often obscure, often misapprehended. It would seem that the allegory ought to be classed among the curiosities of literature. Our age is out of humor with the form, perhaps has outgrown it: men prefer to do their abstract thinking in abstract terms. It may be, as SYMONDS suggests,⁷⁴ that allegory was suited to the childhood of the race which could not grasp abstract thoughts, unless they were presented in concrete form. It is certain that while there have been conspicuous failures and few successes in this form, yet it has had a fascination for many of the great masters of literature. To no one else has it been given to realize such complete success as MILTON attained in his 'Comus;' as allegory, masque, or poem, it is well-nigh beyond criticism.

In my examination of the allegories of SPENSER, BUNYAN, and SWIFT, I have not sought to force upon them a narrow or an arbitrary definition; but I have insisted upon the true signification of the word, namely, that an allegory must contain a hidden meaning as well as a surface meaning. I have shown that none of these three writers has fully conformed to this definition, unless it be SWIFT, who succeeded best because he attempted least. BUNYAN's success is due not so much to the perfection of his allegory as to the fact that it is based upon a symbolism that the experience of every reader has found to be true. SPENSER's failure is caused by his lack of constructive power, by the intricacy and lack of unity of his narrative, and by the obscurity and occasional arbitrariness of his allegory; he excels not in narrative or in allegory, but in lively description and in power of vivid personification. I am far from asserting that his ethical teaching is less valuable because he broke away from the allegory. The lesson of temperance is none the less forcible for being taught directly instead of being "clowdily enwrapped." In the first book SPENSER wrote a continued allegory of unusual beauty and nobility in its spiritual meaning, hampered, however, by the historical allegory which he chose to attach to it. Even in this book he was unable to avoid obscurity and confusion; the amount of spiritual meaning grows less, and soon there is no allegory whatever, except that which is historical. "We *may* fairly leave the allegory on one

⁷⁴ Spenser, p. 128. By R. W. CHURCH.

side,"⁷⁵ for the sufficient reason that it is exactly what SPENSER did himself after completing the first book. "The true use of him,"—one true use, at least,—“is as a gallery of pictures, which we visit as the mood takes us, and where we spend an hour or two at a time.”⁷⁶ And what a dazzling vision does this gallery of pictures afford to the eyes of the imagination,—the House of Pride, the Cave of Despair, the Gardens of Adonis, the House of Holiness, the Cave of Mammon, the Bower of Bliss, the Temple of Venus, with the sight of Amoret and of a varied and never-ending procession of figures of a beauty and interest that fascinate the gaze and transport the reader to Faery land. As a romantic poem ‘The Faerie Queene’ has no equal. Often I have been led unconsciously to forget the purpose of my study, and to read on with no thought save of the surpassing beauty of description.

There has fallen to me the ungracious task of writing of SPENSER’S defects instead of his excellences, which are far greater and correspondingly more difficult to speak of adequately. These excellences, if I understand him rightly, lie not in constructive power or in variety of situation, but in an unrivalled command of language, a melodious versification that has no superior in its rhythmic flow, great power of personification and likewise of description, a keen and exquisite perception of the beautiful, and the deep spiritual insight of one who pondered much upon “the things which are not seen.”

NOTE A, p. 182.

“When a poet personifies abstractions he sufficiently indicates their character by their name and employment.

These means are wanting to the artist, who must therefore give to his personified abstractions certain symbols by which they may be recognized. These symbols, because they are something else and mean something else, constitute them allegorical figures.

A female figure holding a bridle in her hand, another leaning against a column, are allegorical beings. But in poetry Temperance and Constancy are not allegorical beings, but personified abstractions. By the use of symbols the artist exalts a mere figure into a being of a higher order. Should the poet employ the same artistic machinery he would convert a superior being into a doll.

Conformity to this rule was as persistently observed by the ancients as its studious violation is by the viciousness of modern poets. All

⁷⁵ ‘Shakspeare’s Predecessors in the English Drama,’ p. 146.

⁷⁶ LOWELL’S ‘Among my Books,’ Vol. ii, p. 177.

their imaginary beings go masked, and the writers who have most skill in this masquerade generally understand least the real object of their work, which is to let their personages act, and by their actions reveal their character.

Among the attributes by which the artist individualizes his abstractions, there is one class, however, better adapted to the poet than those we have been considering, and more worthy of his use. I refer to such as are not strictly allegorical, but may be regarded as instruments which the beings bearing them would or could use, should they ever come to act as real persons. The tridle in the hand of Temperance, the pillar which supports Constancy, are purely allegorical and cannot therefore be used by the poet. The scales in the hand of Justice are less so, because the right use of the scales is one of the duties of Justice. The lyre or flute in the hand of a muse, the lance in the hand of Mars, hammer and tongs in the hands of Vulcan, are not symbols at all, but simply instruments without which none of the actions characteristic of these beings could be performed. To this class belong the attributes sometimes woven by the old poets into their descriptions, and which, in distinction from those that are allegorical, I would call the poetical. These signify the thing itself, while the others denote only something similar." LESSING'S 'Laocoon,' Section x. Translated by ELLEN FROTHINGHAM.

NOTE B.

Since this paper was read at Cincinnati a member of the Association has kindly called my attention to an interesting discussion of the allegory in 'Die Sprache als Kunst' by GUSTAV GERBER. This writer makes the same distinction as BRINKMANN; namely, that the allegory is figurative throughout; but he does not state it so clearly, and he does not adhere to it closely enough. Some of his examples (for example, Vol. ii, pp. 102, 103) are merely personifications without any hidden meaning. He notes the infrequency of pure allegory (Vol. ii, p. 106), and is, therefore, willing to admit what he calls mixed allegory, which is interpreted in part by the context; this seems to be a near approach to the boundary-line of metaphor. GERBER is, perhaps, over-ready to make classifications into which to force his examples, but his book is most interesting and suggestive.

As regards the obscurity of the allegory GERBER says: "Fabel und Parabel sprechen, die Allegorie ist stumm; und wer also ihr Bild solches nicht erkennt, es für das eigentlich Darzustellende hält, würde von ihr aus eines Besseren nicht belehrt werden" (Vol. ii, 2, p. 257). Again; "Wir haben allerdings allegorische Dichtungen. Auch kann viel Sinniges und Feines in diese Schattenwelt verden; . . . aber alles Dies giebt doch mehr für Commentatoren eine Beschäftigung, als für Menschen einen Genuss" (Vol. ii 2, p. 259, note). His objection to allegorical poetry differs from those brought forward in this paper: I have not space to give it even in summary.

GERBER also shows (Vol. ii, p. 100) that irony is not allegory, because it uses literal language, not figurative; and that where irony does make use of figurative language, it is not because of such use that it is irony. This is a point that I had not sufficiently considered.

See p. 164.

IV.—*The Stressed Vowels of Ælfric's Homilies, Vol. I.*

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Our knowledge of the phonology of Old English, and more especially of Old English vowels, is as yet comparatively limited. Nor can this afford much occasion for surprise, when we consider how short a time has elapsed since the initial steps were taken in what could justly be considered a scientific treatment of the subject. The phonology of Old English therefore offers a broad field for investigation, and it has been the purpose of the author of this monograph to cover some portion, however small, of the unexplored territory.

The first volume of THORPE'S edition of 'Ælfric's Homilies' has furnished the material for this investigation, Ælfric being chosen as typical of the Late West Saxon, and the first volume of his homilies as sufficiently comprehensive to include the greater portion of his vocabulary. As regards the form in which I have presented the work, the only explanation that need be given is that the words have been alphabetically classified according to their stressed vowels, as these appear in Old English. This system seems preferable to any other in that it leaves no room for ambiguity, while at the same time it presents the lists in a shape that requires no subsequent indexing for purposes of reference.

Though I have everywhere sought to arrive at some definite conclusion as to the West Germanic originals, I have, whenever I felt that there was room for reasonable doubt, preferred to query my judgment rather than lay it open to the charge of arbitrariness. The letters *þ* and *ð*, both employed in the text without apparent discrimination, I have uniformly merged under *ð*. Moreover, in the citation of words that are subject to inflection, I have, as a rule, entered the typical or dictionary form, unless there was some particular reason for presenting the word exactly as it occurred in the text. To illustrate the latter case, the plural *māgas* is left unchanged, and is not reduced to the nominative singular, for the reason that the plural has a different stressed vowel.

Of the authorities that have been consulted those that have proved of the greatest assistance are SIEVERS' 'Grammar of

Old English' (second edition), translated and edited by PROFESSOR ALBERT S. COOK, and COSIJN'S 'Altwestsächsische Grammatik.' KLUGE'S 'Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache' and GREIN'S 'Sprachschatz der angelsächsischen Dichter' have also been found exceedingly useful. The standard lexicons and other similar authorities have been employed for occasional reference, but of these no particular mention will be expected.

THE VOWEL *a*.

1. WG. *a*, WS. *a*:—ac 2.8; assa 30.13; axe 246.19; batian 250.18; blacc 482.20; blace 334.12; brastlian 68.5; cnapa 182.12; cwacian 132.27; -dafenlic 14.17; -dafenian 36.14; dagas 4.7; draca 68.5; -fadian 414.33; fadung 274.29; fagnian 88.2; faran 6.4; -faren 222.16; -gaderian 20.34; gegaf 534.2; gaffetung 306.2; gladian 36.25; -grafan 424.10; habban 350.1; hacele 48.1; hafa 400.27; -hafen 380.31; hafen- 128.23; hagol 52.18; -hagian 180.12; hatian 52.34; hatung 84.12; -hradian 82.30; hraðe 16.9; lator 102.30; -laðung 34.6; (ge)maca 14.19; (ge)macian 6.11; mage 276.7; magon 272.29; maða 86.10; nacod 18.11; paðas 360.32; ærendraca 26.5; racentéag 434.8; racu 46.14; -sacan 144.24; sacu 180.1; -sadelian 210.30; sagol 424.32; -slacian 614.13; slaga 46.25; -slagen 400.29; sparian 180.8; stafas 92.12; stapas 504.9; starian 296.3; swalewe 404.25; talian 114.18; -ðafian 4.30; wacol 36.14; wacian 36.6; -war 16.22; ware 240.28; wlacum 86.23; wracu 86.1.

2. WG. *a* BEFORE NASALS, WS. *ǣ* (cf. *ā*, 7):—anccléow 466.25; -ancsumian 342.11; and 2.1; anda 16.30; -andettan 426.4; andswaru; angel 216.32; angsum- 86.8; arn (?) 478.33; -band 466.33; -bann 34.4; barn (?) 86.4; camp- 418.9; campian 360.16; cann 330.8; -crammian 430.4; dranc 352.6; fandian 4.10; -fangen 284.23; fram 2.3; gang 90.19; gangon 256.13; -gann 2.16; grama 4.19; (fīðer)hama 380.29; (līc)hama 16.17; -hamian 40.24; hancréd 74.21; hand 10.1; hangian 382.10; -hangen 504.31; hwanon 400.23; lama 26.11; lamb 140.1; -lamp 402.6; land 30.3; (ge)lang 252.4; lange 178.6; -langian 86.30; langsum 4.19; mancgere 254.25; maneg 2.9; mangian 412.6; mangung 524.12; manian 6.25; mann 2.12; manna 12.35; (ge)manð 288.28; nam (?) 290.7; nama 4.2; -namian 14.16; samnian 78.10; samod 6.13; sand 572.8; sang 38.7; gesang 74.22; sangere 218.9; -scamel 314.32; -spanen 18.8; sprang 304.29; standan 6.3; strand 64.3; strang 10.16; ðan (hut cf. SIEVERS-COOK, § 65, N. 2) 438.20; ðanc 12.17; ðancian 36.19; ðanon 418.28; wamb 66.1; wana 272.13; wand 414.18; wang 12.32; wanien 32.23; wann 196.4; wannspédig 140.6; wanung 94.33.

3. WG. *a*, WS. *ea* THROUGH *u*-UMLAUT:—atelic 16.21; baðu 86.21; carfull 60.19; carian 242.10; cwalu 54.3; daru 102.8; faru 80.3; fatu 58.11; gafol 32.14; gatu 364.22; gatum 334.29; stalu 220.9; -staðel- 12.8; swaðu 68.14; -waru 78.9; waru (wares) 246.2.

4. WG. *a*, WS. *ea* THROUGH BREAKING:—ardlice (?) 78.19; galdor 474.21; psalm- 322.34; waruian 6.28.

5. THE RESULT OF THE CONTRACTION OF *e*+*a*:—nabbað 398.15.

6. SHORTENED FROM WS. *ā*, WG. *ai*, WITH GEMINATION OF THE FOLLOWING CONSONANT:—attor 72.12.

7. FOREIGN:—abbud 336.7; ancer- 544.26; ancran 564.7; apostol 60.11; arc 20.31; Arabisc 478.24; aspide 486.35; Chaldeisc 570.10; -cradol 82.29; fant 422.17; Franc- 560.7; Francan 560.4; manna 76.16; marmian- 506.11; marmstán 560.32; martyr 44.23; palm- 90.2; papol- 64.3; plantian 132.7; traht 104.4.

THE VOWEL *ā*.

1. WG. *ai*, WS. *ā*:—a 28.19; aa 294.9; adl 86.3; adlian 86.22; adlig 4.21; agen 10.19; a(hwár) 54.25; an 8.19; ar 60.28; arléasnys 6.25; arian 6.5; að 480.32; aðum 478.26; axian 14.22; -bad 226.12; ban 14.23; bat 458.14; blacian 314.12; blacung 72.27; blawan 312.12; -blawen- 86.13; brad 132.24; cafer- 422.26; callice (?) 464.18; clað 30.12; cnawan 18.4; -cnawen 358.1; todal 48.35; draf 374.9; -draf 502.10; -dwan 452.15; facn 62.31; fag- 122.22; fagetan (?) 608.33; flat 290.3; gal 360.2; gan (?) 14.19; garsecg 454.12; gast 10.9; glad 78.23; granung 68.7; grapian 220.17; had 2.2; hadian 44.8; hal 4.22; halsian 8.10; ham 80.11; har- 376.13; hat 58.27; behat 74.20; hatan 14.8; -haten 346.15; hawian 332.15; hlaf 34.15; hlaforð 8.23; -hnah 420.17; hwam 362.25; la (COSIJN, § 86) 220.5; éala (COSIJN, § 86) 40.6; lac 22.33; ladung 270.1; laf 12.5; belaf 344.14; lam 12.29; lar 2.8; lattéow 34.12; laðlic 10.31; ma 88.28; -maglice 158.13; (ge)mana 24.25; man- 4.13; -mansumian 124.29; mansumung 370.10; mara 10.3; maðm 318.14; (ge)rad 208.19; rap 208.4; rarian (?) 66.18; -ras 314.28; sape 472.6; sar 42.10; -sargian 158.8; sarig 566.10; sarlice 428.12; sawan 388.22; -sawen 438.1; sawol 6.29; -snað 98.10; snaw 222.31; spatl 474.9; -spaw 246.14; stah 244.28; stan 22.29; -swac 244.20; swatig 426.31; ta (=lot) *246.5; tacon 4.3; tan 246.3; twam 346.16; ða 2.11; ðam 2.11; ðrafian 296.24; ðrafung 294.15; -ðrawen 502.17; wa 102.10; wac 2.1; wanung 466.33; wast 488.26; wat 268.16; (ge)wat 316.29; -wlatung 348.7; -wrat 308.33; -wrað 462.13.

2. WG. *ā*, USUAL WS. *æ*:—clawa 424.19; -hwar 74.32; -lacnian 124.14; lagon 456.2; maga 74.10; magas 332.31; mage 202.9; namon (WS. *nómon*) 316.23; -sawon 296.3; slapon 490.1; tal 338.19; tallic 44.27; talu 306.2.

3. WG. *ō*:—twa 26.5; ðas (fem. acc. sing.) 2.6; ðas (nom. pl.) 344.22.

4. THE CONTRACTION OF *ā* (WG. *ai*) + VOWEL:—aht 268.12; -fa 226.28; fla 502.17; flan 62.28; naðor 18.7.

5. THE CONTRACTION OF *e* + *ā*:—na 4.18; naht 268.13; nan 8.9; nast 378.7; nat 378.5.

6. LENGTHENED FROM *a*, WITH ECTHLIPSIS a) OF *dd*:—wag 106.14, wah 288.4 (Goth. *waddjus*). b) OF *g*:—fran 298.10. c) OF *z*:—gad 386.9.

7. THE RESULT OF SECONDARY LENGTHENING OF WS. *a*, WG. *a*:—anda 26.21; anweald 342.28; andian 346.32; -arn 332.28; -band 352.31; -bann 30.1; -camp 64.19; dranc 168.12; fandian 168.5; -fandode 544.6; fandung 532.30; -fangen 492.31; faran 268.14; gang 26.11; -gangan 14.7; -gann 258.9; -hafen 512.34; hand 516.7; handa 496.10; hnappode

*Confused with *ā*—*lōe*.

86.18; -hradian 618.25; hwa 48.23; gehwa 166.27; hwan 182.13; lamb 312.17; -lamp 244.15; land 78.34; lang 374.11; -langian 450.31; maniað 600.27; manigende 600.31; sand 194.17; -sang 28.9; -sprang 384.26; -stang 452.31; strang 240.8; -strangað 188.9; swa 4.32; swaŋ 392.1; -ðanc 262.30; wamb 604.28; wauð 336.17; -wand 342.5; wauuspédig 66.11.

8. FOREIGN:—casere 30.1; papa 220.27; sacerð 120.17; sam- (WS. *sóm*-) 506.2.

THE VOWEL *æ*.

1. WG. *a*, WS. *æ*:—æcer 184.31; æfter 2.3; ælmes- 54.12; ælmesse 162.30; æppel 88.9; æt 6.10; -æt 18.9; bæc 212.5; bæd 330.28; bæc 320.16; -bærst 374.10; bæð 58.27; -bræc 376.30; cæppa 336.12; cræft 4.25; cræt 308.11; cwæð 258.15; dæg 2.3; fæc 68.20; fæger- 10.16; fægnian 60.9; fægung 352.29; -fær 28.13; fæst 114.1; -fæt 96.25; fæðm 20.32; -frætwan 210.32; gærs 450.4; glæd 72.27; glæs 510.1; græft 464.27; -hæfd 406.6; hæfde 10.23; (for)hæfednys 118.31; hæftling 108.21; hæteru 330.14; hrædlice 20.21; hrægl 472.6; hwæne (but cf. SIEVERS-COOK, § 65, N. 2) 434.28; hwæs 474.3; hwæt 284.6; -hwæðere 16.18; læg 246.2; mæg 4.7; mægen- 128.15; mægð 24.6; næced- 392.8; -næglian 82.25; -sæpig 102.24; sæt 290.20; scræf 406.14; spræc 294.16; swæc 138.27; tægl 252.5; -tær 374.8; tættece 256.9; ðæs 324.14; unðæslic 482.9; ðæt 2.11; -ðræc 68.6; wæfer- 60.25; wæl- 6.16; -wærscipe 68.4; wæs 284.25; wæstm 14.10; wæter 16.6; -wræc 526.3; wræc(sif) 58.29.*

2. WG. *a*, WS. *æ* (THROUGH UMLAUT):—æ1- 250.20; æðele (SIEVERS-COOK, § 50, N. 2) 52.13; bæcst 488.25; -læman (SIEVERS-COOK, § 50, N. 2) 6.12; -dæftan 212.34; -dwæscan (COSIJN, § 12) 46.20; fæder (dat.) 10.10; færeld (COSIJN, § 12) 40.5; færð 268.25; fæstan (COSIJN, § 12) 180.10; fæsten 70.8; fætels (æ?) 212.1; -gædere (SIEVERS-COOK, § 50, N. 2) 22.3; hæbbe 388.15; hæbbende 550.6; hæbbenne 550.4; hæfen 580.22; hæfst 426.11; hæfð 396.2; hærfest (SIEVERS-COOK, § 50, N. 2) 98.23; mæge (?) COSIJN, § 12) 272.10; mænig 342.9; -mæst 522.7; -plættan 474.13; -ræfniende 30.35; -sæcð 236.2; -scæððig 88.13; -stæpe 84.7; stæppan 118.32; wæcce 178.33.

3. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *e*, WG. *ë*:—swæflen 466.26.

4. THE CONTRACTION OF *e* + *æ*:—bæftan; næbbe 582.15; næfde 394.16; næfð 398.29; næs 320.15.

5. SHORTENED FROM WS. *æ*, WITH GEMINATION OF THE FOLLOWING CONSONANT:—æddre (WG. *ä*) 562.6; -ættred (WG. *ai*) 492.29; ættren (WG. *ai*) 252.5; ættres (WG. *ai*) 474.16; næddre (WG. *ä*) 16.32.

6. FOREIGN:—mæsse- 2.1; -mæssian 430.29; pæll 508.16; pællen 64.13; sæter- (Cf. SIEVERS-COOK, § 50, N. 2) 216.27.

THE VOWEL *æ*.

1. THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WS. *ä*, WG. *ai*:—æ 24.16; æfre 8.20; æghwæð 116.13; ægðer 18.4; æht 54.2; -ælan 118.8; ælc 4.29; ælic 188.20;

*Between this *æ* and a following *g*, an inorganic *i* is sometimes developed: *dæigh-wamlice* 136.7; *læig* 452.2; *mæig* 412.35; *mæigð* 82.4; *mæigðhad* 148.7.

æne 232.10; ænig 10.35; ær 4.11; æren 376.3; æw 42.1; bænen 532.6; blæc- 456.16; blæd 322.13; -brædan 508.34; cæg 364.23; -clæman 20.33; clæne 58.19; -clænsian 6.1; -cnæwst 140.29; dæl 10.25; dælan 62.3; -dræfan 12.3; fæhð 226.23; fæmne 14.24; fætnys 522.33; fætt 614.19; flæsc 14.24; -gægan 604.20; gælsa 544.28; gæð 66.12; hæl 410.17; hælan 4.20; hæmed (COSIJN, § 88) 148.22; hæs 26.10; hæst 266.34; hætan 86.4; hætu 282.11; hæðen 46.19; hæðung 286.3; hlænnys (COSIJN, § 88; but cf. OLG. *lêhni* STRATMANN s. v. *lêne*) 522.31; -hwæde (?) 84.21; hwæte 526.28; -læccan 162.4 (læhte 28.7); (ô) læcung 488.9; lædan 560.26; læfan 478.12; læmen 554.33; -lænan 274.2; læran 6.21; -læs 8.11; læsew (?) 242.15; læssa 140.6; -læst 506.12; -læstan 264.2; læswian (?) 242.18; læwed 94.34; mænan 186.5; (ge)mæne 64.32; mæst 250.27; -pæcan (?) 4.4; -pæran 216.9; -ræcan 88.9; -ræran 16.18; sæ 14.28; -sægednys 358.18; -sæwð 492.14; -scæt 128.2; -sprædan 536.18; stænan 46.35; stænen 364.21; swætan 414.12; tæcan 6.21; -twæman 38.35; ðæra (gen. pl.) 342.31; ðære (gen. sing. fem.) 342.35; ðære (dat. sing. fem.) 346.25; -wæcan 408.21; -wæfan 34.28; wæfels 62.29; -wægan 112.6; -wæhte 488.35.*

2. GERM *ê*, WG. *ê*, WS. *ê*:—æfen 100.6; æfnung 452.4; æmtig 204.11; ærend- 26.5; æs 216.11; æt 66.9; æðm 616.24; hædon 434.26; hær 372.6; -bræcon 450.14; bræð 222.4; cwædon 322.18; -cwæle 58.30; -dwæs 100.30; færlig 30.22; grædelice 66.10; grædig 572.18; hær 236.22; hære 246.19; -hwær 2.5; lætan 20.18; mæg 318.7; mæglic 58.4; ræd 10.27; geræde 210.15; -rædnys 368.13; sæl 62.24; -sæte 484.15; sæton 412.2; slæp (but cf. COSIJN, p. 82, l. 3) 60.19; spræc 2.7; spræcon 314.18; -stæle 220.8; swær (?) 54.33; (ge)swæs 70.34; swæsnys 492.29; -tæron 524.29; -trædon 544.28; ðær 12.5; wædla 62.21; wædlian 62.28; wæron 286.6; wæt 64.9.†

3. LAT. *ā*, WG. *ā*, WS. *ā*:—stræt 60.21.

4. THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WS. *ê*, WG. *ê*:—brædan 430.16; dæd 4.13; -drædan 56.23; -færan 106.30; læce 60.34; -læwan 26.25; mægð 24.16; -mænan 560.24; mære 12.19; ormæte 6.2; mæð 140.30; ræsan 376.34; sæd 98.2; -sælig 422.3; -sælð 20.2; -stælan 612.24; tælan 48.23; -tæle 112.19 (æ)lætawe 250.20; ðwær (læcan) 70.34; -geðwærnys 38.14; wæd 428.5; (ge)wæde 398.31; wæpmann 148.14; -wæpnian 72.23.‡

5. THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WS. *ô*, WG. *ô* BEFORE A NASAL:—næman 216.17.

6. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ê*, *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *ô*:—fræcednys 240.34; -swæled 86.5.

7. THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *a* BEFORE **ddj*, (cf. KLUGE, s. v. *Ei*):—æg 300.5.**

8. THE CONTRACTION OF *e* + *ê*:—næfre 4.1; nære 432.3; næron 404.22.

9. LENGTHENED FROM WS. *æ*, WG. *a*, WITH ECTHIPSIS OF *g*:—bræd 122.31; mæden 24.30; -sæd 30.33; sædon 30.35.

*An inorganic *i* is sometimes developed between this *æ* and the following consonant: *cæig* 368.35; *gæið* 92.2.

†An inorganic *i* is sometimes developed between this *æ* and the following consonant: *mæiglic* 404.1.

‡An inorganic *i* appears in *mæið* 368.9. **An inorganic *i* is found in *æg* 250.11.

10. DUE TO SECONDARY LENGTHENING OF WS. *æ*, WG. *a*:—*bærnan* 372.29; *-bræc* 186.27; *-dæg* 56.30; *dæg-* 480.32; *-færran* 102.24; *fæt* 510.1; *gærs* 182.15; *hæfen* 582.29; *hwæl* 246.12; *-mæstan* 522.26; *sæt* 182.2.

THE VOWEL *e*.

1. WG. *ē*, WS. *e*:—*be* 8.11; (ge)*bed* 44.17; *-belh* 96.6; *bera* 24.4; *beran* 10.22; *-brecan* 14.13; *-cweden* 244.16; *cwelan* 72.15; *cwest* 378.9; *cwe ðan* 72.15; (ge)*delf* 562.14; *-gedelf* 560.32; *delfan* 74.24; *-etan* 14.2; *-efenlæcan* 44.1; *efne* 30.18; *emn* 30.16; *euen* 32.6; *fela* 4.3; *feld* 6.12; *fell* 18.19; *-freten* 616.24; *helm* 162.14; *helpan* 180.11; *-hwega* 348.32; *leger-* 472.25; *medemian* 32.7; *melda* 46.24; (hú)*meta* 388.2; *-meten* 614.28; *Metod* 598.35; *ne* 2.11; *nest* 160.34; *plega* 66.12; *plegian* 480.30; *seld-* 106.27; *setl* 48.29; (ge)*sewenlice* 4.16; *smedma* 188.7; *bismer* 226.28; (god)*spellic* 2.12; *-spendan* 254.21; *sper* 146.12; *-spreca* 90.17; *sprecan* 66.15; *stemn* 6.32; *-swefian* 14.20; *swefn* 78.32; *-swelgan* 534.16; *-swelle* 22.22; *sweltan* 14.13; *teld-* 392.21; *-tredan* 188.25; *ðegen* 2.5; *ðes* 310.23; *-weder* 526.31; *-wefen* 352.5; *weg* 46.10; *-wegan* 8.25; *wel* 4.33; *weleras* 568.33; *-welgian* 550.12; *welig* 64.15; *wer* 14.25; *wered* 508.34; *werod* 10.21; *wesan* 50.6; *west* 130.14; *wrecan* 114.4; *-wrecen* 332.34.*

2. THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WS. *a* OR *o*, WG. *a*:—(ge)*hēda* 92.21; *hēd-* 126.6; *bēnd* 212.31; *bēndan* 502.15; *berēn* 182.12; *bērēn* 526.28; *hētera* 10.32; *hētrung* 350.19; *hētsta* 142.16; *hēðian* 86.23; *blēndan* 132.12; *-cēnned* 10.8; *cēmpa* 56.30; *-cwēccan* 88.10; *cwēllan* 22.9; *dēne* 360.33; *clērian* 16.25; *-drēcced-* 4.1; *drēhton* 86.18; *drēnc* 72.11; *drēncan* 22.6; *dwēllan* 52.15; *ēce* 418.22; *ēcg* 420.18; *-ēcged* 92.34; *ēft* 8.2; *ēge* 22.17; *ēgeslice* 86.7; *ēgle* 390.15; *ēlcian* 248.27; *ēlles* 76.19; *ēnde* 2.19; *ēndemes* 70.26; *-ēndian* 16.17; *ēngel* 10.3; *Englisc* 2.7; *ēnt* 22.31; *grēce-* 416.29; *erian* 464.25; *andēttan* 30.9; *fēccan* 64.3; *-fēng* 100.3; *fērcian* 488.33; *fērian* 66.14; *-fētian* 248.24; *-frēmedlice* 10.2; *frēmning* 8.7; (big)*gēng* 72.4; *gēnga* 2.19; *-glēddian* 100.21; *-glēngan* 26.19; *grēmian* 20.24; *-hēbban* 6.32; *hēfe* 102.33; *upahēfednes* 12.22; *hēfig-* 56.4; *hēll* 4.14; (ge)*hēnde* 88.23; *hēngen* 26.34; *here* 78.15; *hērgung* 228.17; *hērian* 30.23; *hēte-* 88.10; *hēgsce* 602.12; *hrēddan* 192.22; *hrēmman* 592.7; *hrēppan* 458.17; *hrēpian* 14.1; *hwēmme* 130.21; *hwēttan* 26.31; *-lēcgan* 58.28; *lēncten-* 98.21; *lēnden* 114.16; *lēng* 374.3; *-lēngan* 100.21; *lēttan* 382.18; *mēngan* 40.28; *mēnig* 12.18; *mēnigu* 30.23; *mēnn* 2.17; *mēnnisc-* 26.3; *mēregrot* (?) 596.8; *mēte* 76.17; *formētte* (?) 254.30; *nēb* 262.10; *nēbbian* 256.10; *nēmnan* 26.6; *-nēmnian* 96.30; *-nērian* 218.12; *nēt* 394.7; *pēning* 182.9; *rēccan* 28.24 (*rēhte* 342.16). *rēst* 618.32; *rēstan* 104.22; *scēncan* 336.3; *-scēndan* 388.3; *-scrēncan* 198.22; *scēgan* 14.9; *sēgen* 152.31; *sēncan* 28.14; *-sēncian* 256.20; *sēndan* 22.2; (ge)*sētmys* 2.16; *sēttan* 12.31; *slege* 26.32; *-slegen* 488.15; *smērcian* 430.33; *sprēngan* 466.26; *stēde* 14.11; *stēnc* 68.7; *stēncan* 36.15; *stēng* 428.6; *stēt* 218.1; *-stēntest* 6.24; *strēc* 360.1; *strēcan* 358.26; *strēccan* 252.7; *strēncðu* 44.21; *strēngra* 250.18; *strēngð* 538.20; *-swēncan* 86.13; *swērian* 426.6; *getel* (?) 32.26; *tēllan* 100.13; *-tēmian*

*Between this *e* and a following *g* an inorganic *i* is found in *weig* 108.32.

208.20; tēndan 240.25; tēngan 72.18; tēndel 282.9; twēlf 26.4; ðēcen 126.30; ðēncan 12.28; -ðēnnan 372.19; -wēbb 62.26; wēcg 60.29; wēdd 22.13; -wēmman 212.3; wēndan 2.14; (hár)wēnge 376.13; wērian 568.11; wrēccan 60.19; (lot)wrēnce 192.9.*

3. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *ea*:—cwēlm- 72.11; ēltsta 24.7; gērela 296.4; gēst- 30.14; -wēlm 382.13.

4. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *eo*:—ymesene (Cf. 'Phil. Soc. Eng. Dict.', s. v. *bisson*) 418.22.

5. WS. *e*, *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *o*:—dēhter 436.20; ēfstān; 162.18 ēle (from Lat. *o*) 58.25; mērigen 100.6.

6. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *eo*, THE *o*-UMLAUT OF WG. *i*:—tela 56.9.

7. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ea*, THE *u*-UMLAUT OF WG. *a*:—merwan 602.13.

8. THE PALATAL UMLAUT OF WS. *ea*, THE BREAKING OF WS. *a*, WG. *a*:—ehta 90.12; -ehtatig 134.18; exlum 340.2; fex 236.31; -fexede 456.16; geseh 216.13; sex 98.10; -wexen 506.23; wext 490.6.

9. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *y*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *u*:—embe 36.10; -ren 102.27.

10. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ea*, THE BREAKING OF WG. *a* IN UNSTRESSED SYLLABLES:—andwerd 82.34; towērd 498.27.

11. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *æ*, WG. *a*:—hweðere 10.4.

12. THE CONTRACTION OF *e* + *i*:—nele 408.21; nellað 266.26; nelle 532.7; nelt 428.25.

13. THE RESULT OF CONTRACTION IN THE PRETERITS OF CERTAIN REDUPLICATING VERBS:—feng 286.5; -fengon 316.2; -hencg 524.35; -hengon 168.9.

14. GOTH. *a*:—ge 18.4; se 2.19.

15. SHORTENED FROM WS. *é*, *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *ó*:—gebletsian 92.6; bletsung 44.17; dælgred 508.32.

16. FOREIGN:—cherubim 10.14; Ebreisc 24.11; Egyptisc 318.29; Leden 2.13; Perscisc 518.17; regol 372.31; seraphim 10.14; tempel 70.30; templ 168.36; getemprian 360.12.

THE VOWEL *é*.

1. GERM. *é*, OHG. *ea*, *ia*:—her 170.36; het 376.10; let 276.5; leton 392.4; med 56.5; slep 246.3.

2. WS. *é*, *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *ó*:—bec 68.11; begen 74.6; ben 2.5; -beta 342.12; betan 68.17; bredan 250.24; -bregan 578.27; brembel 18.17; breðer 54.20; celing 430.13; cene 232.29; cweman 20.31; cwen 200.13; (ge)defe 550.20; dema 48.29; deð 160.10; -drefan 66.4; eðel 78.31; fedan 24.17; -fegan 62.7; felnys 302.15; (ge)fera 10.34; feran 22.25; fet 212.19; flewð 448.2; (up)flierig 296.9; frecednys 2.18; -fredan 88.8; freferian 28.5; gled 430.4; grene 64.1; gretan 24.24; hedan 330.31; hrefan 20.32; hwene 358.24; alefed 236.29; meder 308.29; metan 30.21; meting 186.6; (ofer)mettu 12.5; receléas 320.18; recels 78.28; reðe 78.30; rewut 162.10; secan 42.27; -smeðian 360.34; smeðnys 26.11; sped 56.15; steda 210.14; sweg 312.12;

*An inorganic *i* is developed between this *e* and a following *g* in *se:ig* 200.33.

swegan 104.22; swete 442.2; twegen 306.35; twentig 298.18; wedan 50.18; -weman 260.11; wen 92.30; wena 358.1; wepan 68.1; werig- 490.7; westen 46.17; wregan 80.6.

3. WS. *ē*, *i*-UMLAUT OF *ō*, WHOSE LENGTH IS DUE TO THE LOSS OF A FOLLOWING NASAL:—ehtan 324.2; ehtnys 4.34; estful 34.7; fehð 204.15; feðe (COSIJN, § 16) 336.9; gerefa (COSIJN, § 16) 72.18; -seðan 336.27; seðung 558.16; teð 46.27.

4. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *ēa*:—cepan 56.3; -drema 38.7; hreman 60.30; aleuað 4.22; -nedan 18.28; steman 444.11.

5. THE PALATAL UMLAUT OF WS. *ēa*:—eh- 584.28; hexta 198.14; neh- 340.8; nexta 24.21.

6. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ē*:—breðe 442.2; -cred 74.21; -dredan 30.18; emtig 440.16; hete 338.19; sel 250.36.

7. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF A WS *ēa*, WHICH ARISES FROM THE INFLUENCE OF A PRECEDING PALATAL UPON WG. *á*:—scep 36.15.

8. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ēa*, WG. *au*:—ela 136.28.

9. THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *a*:—ece (Goth. *ajuk-*, COSIJN, § 12) 4.12.

10. THE CONTRACTION OF *e* + *e*:—ten (SIEVERS-COOK, § 113) 348.3.

11. LENGTHENED FROM WS. *e*, WITH ECTHLIPSIS OF THE FOLLOWING *g*:—bredan 360.14; -led 30.22; -lede 30.13; ren 22.2; ðen 308.20; ðenian 270.30; ðenig- 58.10; ðenung 58.20.

12. THE RESULT OF SECONDARY LENGTHENING OF WS. *e*:—bed 262.23; bend 606.16; onet 592.17; -ferod 496.23; ge 18.3; he 4.26; hefe 286.12; hefig- 524.17; -hendor 106.20; hengen 542.28; -hengen 462.11; herian 44.2; -herod 356.5; herung 212.31; herunga 584.14; leng 534.18; me 2.6; -stent 288.21; ðe 12.35; we 8.6; aweg 414.25; wel 104.23; -wend 128.8.

13. FOREIGN:—creda 48.28; fefor 128.13; Grecisc 50.11; Medas 454.12.

THE VOWEL *i*.

1. WG. *i*, WS. *i*:—biddan 8.9; bifian 228.13; bigspell 212.6; bile- 2.10; bindan 212.14; bist 576.7; bita 182.10; biternys 306.5; gebitt 126.20; bið 266.4; bliud 18.5; -blinnan 68.7; brice 62.9; brid 140.15; -bringan 8.13; gild 20.17; clifian 380.25; cliðe 476.1; dimlic 604.1; disc- 572.9; -drifen 220.17; drincan 72.14; -dwinon 378.1; findan 194.14; finger 358.8; fisc 16.8 (fixas, 82.13); fiðer- 380.29; flint 92.34; -flitt 180.1; frigne 18.29; gif 4.8; angin 8.19; -ginnan 98.26; glida (?) 586.6; grindan 488.25; -gripen 470.5; -gripon 414.11; him 2.5; hindan 506.1; hinder 172.35; hine 332.31; his 2.5; hit 4.4; -hring 474.8; hriðian 86.7; hwider 434.7; hwile (?) 288.15; ic 2.1; inc 316.33; inn 20.33; -innian 12.24; innoð 20.18; is 2.4; -liccian 330.22; licgan 42.26; lifigan 76.4; (be)lifon 108.11; (for)ligere 20.23; lim 84.18; -limpan 104.2; micel 2.10; mid 6.4; middan 4.1; mild 36.20; milts 566.14; miltsian 18.35; miltsung 68.12; mislic 20.23; nigon 10.14; genip 504.30; niðer 56.32; pricu 102.29; rib 14.21; -rifod 614.14; rinde 236.18; gerip 184.31; gerisan (COSIJN, p. 52) 418.8; -rison 74.3; riðe 444.10; scip 244.28; scrift 164.27; scripp 394.7; sibb 30.26; side- 596.31; sige 50.4; -sigen 456.20; -sigon 414.10;

sigor 594.20; simle 56.19; sind 2.5; singallice 86.11; singan 30.24; sinseype 148.7; sittan 10.25; -sliden 492.11; -smiten 558.30; smið 64.6; -sniden 90.13; -snidon 92.26; -spring 18.26; -sticce 362.28; stician 216.12; sticls 474.12; sticol 162.23; -stigen 596.10; -stigon 296.9; stihtan 112.30; stillan 26.9; stille 156.11; -swicen 24.24; swician 316.27; -swicon 304.30; -swinc 8.24; -swindan 266.3; swingan 424.12; swingle 472.12; swipe 406.7; tidder 256.2; tilian 18.15; tilung 474.21; -timber 2.15; -timbrung 22.25; intinga 84.2; tintreg 94.6; twig 90.3; ðicgean 168.31; ðider 504.6; ðigen 118.25; ðing 8.9; ðis 102.25; ðisra 348.22; ðisra 384.4; ðissere 4.11; ðrida 28.4; ðriwa 66.24; widewe 148.10; wilde 208.22; wilige 182.22; willan 6.27; willa 10.1; wind 26.10; windan 66.24; winnan 164.21; winter 24.18; gewiss 96.3; gewissian 52.15; edwist 56.16; wiste 402.11; -wita 44.26; wite 6.19; -gewiten 604.8; witon 286.15; -witt 26.14; wið 6.35; wiðer- 12.22; wiðða 594.30; wlite 46.5; wlitig 10.16; -wrigen- 60.1; -writ 2.12; -writen 282.17; -writon 598.22; wriða 568.33; -wriðen 456.9; -wriðian 446.1; -wriðon 596.22.

2. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *y*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *u*:—bicgan 182.6; -Æbiligan 516.20; -cnittan 476.5; Drihten 2.19; filian 10.20; fliht 572.9; frimð 172.24; hig- 482.10; hiht 24.2; hingrian 166.1; hricg 286.24; lire 550.28; -mindig 354.30; -nihtsumian 124.15; sinderlice 96.21; sticce 380.24; stic- 108.19; tihhtan 70.35; -tingnys 26.12; trimming 448.9; ðillic 406.21; ðincan 96.1; -ðincðu 82.1; -ðriccan 494.5; -ðricced- 608.20; ðrim- 112.10.

3. WG. *e* BEFORE A NASAL, WS. *i*:—niman 26.29.

4. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, *i*-UMLAUT OF *ea*, THE BREAKING OF WG. *a*:—hlihgan 180.14; -sliht 482.33; -slihð 240.27.

5. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *eo*:—gingra 420.28; hire (gsf.) (?) 316.30; hire (dsf.) (?) 276.12; -sihst 286.23; -sihð 4.26.

6. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *io*, THE *o*-UMLAUT OF WG. *i*:—ðisne 352.22.

7. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *io*, THE *u*-UMLAUT OF WS. *i*, WG. *e* FOLLOWED BY A NASAL:—sinu 236.21.

8. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *io*, THE *u*-UMLAUT OF WG. *i*:—nipu 614.29; sindon 446.7; ðisum (ds.) 328.18; ðisum (dpl.) 356.5.

9. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, PALATAL UMLAUT OF *ea*, THE BREAKING OF WG. *a* BEFORE *h* + A CONSONANT:—miht 6.17; mihte 384.1; -mihtig 4.5; niht 36.28.

10. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, PALATAL UMLAUT OF *eo*, THE BREAKING OF WG. *e*:—cniht 62.17; -nihtan 8.13; silf (Cf. SIEVERS-COOK, § 101, N. 2) 578.17; six 14.29; sixta 44.15.

11. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, DEVELOPED FROM WG. *e* THROUGH THE INFLUENCE OF A PRECEDING PALATAL:—gifan 32.35; gife 34.27; -gifen 472.25; gifu 2.6; -gild 474.33; gilp 124.4; -giltan 180.26; andgit (?) 86.26; -gitan 140.31; -giten 540.19; -scirian 124.6.

12. WG. *a*, WS. *i*:—swilc (Goth. *swaleiks*) 2.2.

13. SHORTENED FROM WG. *i*, GENERALLY WITH GEMINATION OF THE FOLLOWING CONSONANT OR WITH ASSIMILATION OF THE TWO

FOLLOWING CONSONANTS:—bliss 36.5; liccetera 120.2; liss 330.30; riccetera 128.22; ricra 130.33; (bed)rida 472.24; riftre (?) 570.33; siccetung 86.8; siððan 4.13; ðrittig 20.9; wicce- 474.22; wimman 40.35.

14. THE CONTRACTION OF *e* + *i*:—binnan 22.6.

15. AFTER THE ANALOGY OF THE PAST PARTICIPLES OF VERBS OF THE FIRST ABLAUT CLASS:—-frinen 426.3.

16. FOREIGN:—bibliotheca 436.13; binn (?) 30.31; biscop 2.3; Crist 4.3; Antecrist 4.21; diaconas 44.8; discipul 6.20; diht 40.33; gedihte 16.3; gímm (Lat. *e*, followed by nasal) 450.21; Indisc 456.14; lilie 444.11; pistol 436.4.

17. OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN:—ablicged 314.16; begriwen 384.25.

THE VOWEL *i*.

1. WG. *i*, WS. *i*:—-bidan 6.20; -bidian 42.18; bitan 46.27; bliðe 136.11; bridel 568.33; cidan 96.1; cið (COSIJN, § 67) 100.16; drifan 268.26; -dwinan 592.12; frige (?) 216.21; gitsian 68.26; gitsung 360.6; glig 484.3; -gripan 358.26; hired 62.19; hiwan 432.28; hlisa (COSIJN, § 71) 356.33; -hnigan 428.8; hwil 2.1; hwit 88.34; idel 320.26; isen 146.11; lic 60.15; lichama 4.25; lician 104.23; lif 8.7; mil 42.35; min 4.2; nið 54.13; rice 6.4; ricetera 82.21; ridan 210.27; gerim 98.24; -rima 442.35; -ripiā (?) 84.5; -risān 20.6; rixian 28.19; scinan 62.30; scir 82.11; sicetung 614.15; sid 456.18; side 14.21; -sigan 246.17; siðan (?) 146.12; -slidan 170.18; -slitan 132.17; -smitan 124.31; -stifian (?) 598.11; -stigan 22.20; -swic 6.32; -swican 16.22; swig- 218.31; tid 32.13; tima 2.17; -timian 10.32; ðihan 16.14; ðin 14.6; ðrim 324.17; ðrittig 20.32; wic 402.21; wica 242.13; wician 30.10; wid 20.32; wif 14.21; win 26.9; wipian 426.30; wis 2.10; wise 176.3; edwit 162.12; -witan 56.31; wite 12.3; witega 96.27; -witegode 50.13; witegung 80.18; -wrihð 364.27; -writan 8.10; -wriðan 208.3.

2. LENGTHENED FROM WG. *i* WITH ECTHIPSIS a) OF *g*:—-frinan 78.5; -lire 526.26; lið 116.35; sil- 454.11; tið 384.19; -tiðian 76.22; ðinen 200.14. b) OF *m*:—-fif 182.16; fiftig 20.32. c) OF *n*:—liðe 210.18; liðnys 320.10; midl 360.19; gesiðum 416.3; -sið 58.29; siðian 298.30; stið 46.23; swið 2.17.

3. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *ea*:—-bicnian 106.27; -bigan 170.23; bigels 170.23; cigan 30.7; digelian 34.14; digellice 4.25; -flan 466.3; -fligan 64.22; gime- 164.26; gimen 346.8; igeoð 58.29; -ihte 32.25; -iwan (?) 220.20; lig 68.5; liget 222.31; -lipig 34.4; -tigan 206.10; tige 248.21.

4. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *eo*:—-drihð 102.15; -fligð 606.6; flihð 306.10; lihst 378.7; lihtan 36.30; smic 592.11; tiht 434.7; -tiht 180.12; -tið 514.21.

5. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *io* BEFORE *w*:—hiw 20.34; -hiwian 6.18; hiwisc 310.27; hiwung 250.21; niw 36.23; niwelnys 8.24; ðiwan 378.2.

6. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *y*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *u*:—-bisnung 120.28; brice 140.27; bricð 52.4; drie 24.17; hinð 340.33; -ligenod 54.1; -sihton 84.16; ðrih 222.12.

7. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *y*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *ü* FROM WG. *un*:—*ciððu* 396.25; *wiscan* 594.20; *gewiscendlice* 258.24.

8. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *y*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *u*, THE LENGTH BEING DUE TO THE LOSS OF A FOLLOWING *g*:—*ingehid* 530.7.

9. WS. *iu*:—*fir* (COSIJN, § 107), 132.25.

10. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE CONTRACTION OF *i* + *e*:—*hi* (npl.) 4.33; *hi* (asf.) 458.16.

11. THE CONTRACTION OF *i* + *u* (COSIJN, § 40):—*hwi* 320.2; *ði* 226.10; *forði* 312.27.

12. THE RESULT OF SECONDARY LENGTHENING OF *i*:—*bigspeil* 342.16; *bigwist* 358.23; *-bitene* 242.10; *-biton* 244.17; *-blin* 434.13; *-cinan* 336.9; *-dwimor* 86.18; *-gif* (WS. *ie*) 596.17; *-gifen* (WS. *ie*) 498.24; *hine* 26.22; *hlid* 222.8; *-ligre* 240.25; *scip* 268.25; *sigrian* 424.33; *stincan* 86.13; *wiglung* 476.4.

13. LATIN *oe* BEFORE A NASAL (pronounced *e*):—*pinung* 160.17.

THE VOWEL *o*.

1. WG. *o*, WS. *o*:—(be)bod 6.34; *-boden* 596.22; *bodig* 366.27; *boga* 212.33; *-bogen* 434.25; *-boht* 582.27; *-bohte* 374.4; *-bolgen* 420.1; *-bora* 330.27; *-bord* 246.2; *-boren* 278.8; *-borgen* 56.18; *-borsten* 86.5; *botl* 244.18; *broc* 536.1; *-brocen* 268.25; *-brocod* 464.6; *brösnung* 98.9; *-browen* 352.7; *cnoll* 502.13; *-cora* 332.19; *-coren* 324.20; *-corfen* 420.5; *corn* 184.32; *coss* 566.19; *cossian* 566.19; *-costnian* 166.8; *costnung* 1.7; *-cropsen* 400.7; *dohtor* 20.8; *dolh* 234.25; *dorste* 316.33; *drohtnung* 126.2; *dropa* 296.28; *dwollic* 602.35; *-dwolmann* 16.19; *flocc-* 142.9; *fola* 216.11; *folc* 6.33; *folgian* 52.6; *for* 20.10; *-foran* 20.26; *-fored* (COSIJN, § 42) 260.29; *forhtian* 52.15; *forma* 44.11; *forst* 84.15; *forð* 16.4; *God* 2.6; *gode-* 62.26; *gold* 6.2; *-golden* 332.4; *goretende* 530.31; *-goten-* 594.17; *hogian* 56.23; *hol* 160.33; *hold* 170.9; *holt* 384.9; *hopa* 350.24; *hopian* 250.25; *hoppian* 202.18; *hoppystre* 484.3; *hord* 62.4; *hosp* 56.11; *horig* 472.16; *horn* 522.25; *hors* 432.33; (on)hrop 248.32; *-hroren* 492.33; *-hworfen* 590.24; *loc* 572.27; *locc* 566.25; *-locen* 272.17; *loddere* 256.8; *lof* 10.17; *-logen* 316.27; *-loren* 340.13; *losian* (COSIJN, § 42) 92.2; *-loten* 276.5; *lot-* 192.9; *mold-* 492.33; *-molsnian* 218.25; *-molten* 488.7; *norð* 10.25; *ofer-* 12.4; *ofet* 352.7; *ofost* 380.14; *oft* 74.28; *olfend* (COSIJN, § 42) 330.2; *open-* 4.25; *orf*; *orð* 4.29; *orðian* 86.8; *oððe* 6.35; *oxa* 42.25; *rodor-* 308.3; *rotian* 116.7; *-scofen* 332.26; *scop* (COSIJN, § 42) 118.1; *-scoren* 448.29; *scorian* 114.12; *scort* 218.19; *scortlice* 202.29; *-scoten* 502.28; *-slophen* 86.25; *snotor* 2.14; *-soden* 84.15; *-solcen* 306.11; *-sorgian* 50.25; *sorh* 52.18; *storc* 404.25; *storm* 526.31; *-swollen* 86.11; *-sworcennys* 428.30; *-sworen* 132.24; *-toga* 78.15; *-togen* 266.4; *toll* 510.28; *tollére* 324.3; *-toren* 542.20; *-torfian* 42.1; *torr* (COSIJN, § 42) 380.8; *geðofta* 46.12; *geðoftræden* 90.18; *ðolian* 140.32; *ðorfte* 18.23; *ðorn* 18.16; *ðoterung* 68.7; *ðrosm* 332.17; *wolcen* 22.11; *wolde* 320.7; *word* 18.14; *-worden* 432.5; *-worpen-* 330.9.

2. WG. *u*, WS. *o*:—*orwéne* 86.28.

3. WG. *a*, BEFORE A NASAL, WS. *e*:—*lischomlice* 142.7; *dæghwomlice* 408.6; *on* 2.2; *onettan* 384.14; *ungesome* 478.25; *ðone* (but cf.

SIEVERS-COOK, § 65, N. 2) 352.15; forðon (but cf. SIEVERS-COOK, § 65, N. 2) 172.18; ðonne 2.2; womni 236.31.

4. WG. *a*, WS. *o*:—nosu 456.8; of 2.7.

5. THE RESULT OF THE INFLUENCE OF A PRECEDING *w* ON WS. *eo*, THE *u*-UMLAUT OR THE BREAKING OF WG. *e*:—worht 360.8; woruld 2.18.

6. SHORTENED FROM WS. *ô*, WG. *ô*, WITH GEMINATION OF FOLLOWING CONSONANT:—moddrie 58.3.

7. THE CONTRACTION OF *e* + *o*:—holde 320.9.

8. AFTER THE ANALOGY OF THE PAST PARTICIPLES OF THE SECOND ABLAUT CLASS OF VERBS:—ðogen 448.34; ðwogen (?) 472.5.

9. FOREIGN:—coccel 526.21; forca 430.11; offrian 22.33; offring- 218.9; port- 490.29; portic 508.10; potian 522.25.

THE VOWEL *ô*.

1. WG. *ô*, WS. *ô*:—blod 6.27; blostma 84.13; blowan 64.15; boc 2.7; bog 236.19; bōsm 84.9; bot 268.21; -broðru 32.5; dom 2.10; don 12.13; flod 20.36; -flor 314.5; -flowend- 334.30; foda 42.27; -gefoh 408.16; foster- 30.6; fostor 20.34; fot 16.6; frofor 14.19; glowan 424.35; god 144.33 (good 2.5, gōod 144.28, goōd 238.16); gegodian 266.7; -grof 466.13; growan 304.26; hlowan 590.15; hoc 362.27; -hofian 2.17; -hofon 596.21; hrof 22.20; hwon 86.18; nateshwon 78.14; hwonlic 38.6; locian 152.22; -logian 12.33; gelome 36.16; mod 2.6; modignys 12.28; modor 20.18; moste 268.32; mot 260.23; gemot 290.12; moton 350.1; genoh 18.2; oga 222.32; rod 26.34; rohte 162.1; rot 268.27; -unrotsian 142.20; rowan 182.32; -scoc 574.15; -slogon 290.30; -sloh 404.11; -soc 390.21; -socon 386.34; sohte 338.31; stod 86.13; stodon 296.3; -stop 360.35; stow 42.35; swor 452.3; to 2.4; ðrowian 26.28; ðwoh 418.21; wcd 26.13; wop 60.15; worian 148.3.

2. WG. *â* BEFORE A NASAL, WS. *ô*:—com 290.19; comon 290.16; gedon 324.12; mona 14.27; monað 98.35; sona 12.3.

3. THE CONTRACTION OF *ô* + A FOLLOWING VOWEL:—doð 464.15; -fo 72.17; -fon 34.31; -foð 294.26; -hon 162.13; scos 456.21.

4. LENGTHENED FROM WS. *o*, WG. *a*, WITH LOSS OF THE FOLLOWING NASAL:—brohte 230.20; coð 466.16; -foh 426.16; olæcung 488.9; oð 4.9; oðer 6.35; softe 164.2; softnys 270.5; soð 4.15; toð 126.20; geðoht 96.20; ðohte 82.12; woh 8.15.

5. LENGTHENED FROM *o*, WITH ECTHLIPSIS OF FOLLOWING *g*:—broden 300.17.

6. THE RESULT OF SECONDARY LENGTHENING OF *o*:—bebod 14.12; -goten 554.28; hoga 132.13; hogian 38.32; hopian 256.25; hord 78.27; horig 456.20; lof 364.8; ofet 546.5; ofne 544.6; on 614.16; or- 52.18; wolcen 22.11; word 30.35; -worpen- 130.29.

7. FOREIGN:—non 108.18; Romanisc 318.29; rose 64.14; scol 440.8.

THE VOWEL *u*.

1. WG. *u*, WS. *u*:—blunnen 544.9; budon 450.6; bugon 316.2; -bunden 364.24; -bundon 594.31; burh 22.19; burston 108.20; crume 330.28; -cund 348.7; cunne 6.19; cunnon 154.15; -curfe 92.34; -curon 434.30; cuwon 404.5; -drugon 340.28; drunce 72.11; -druncen 590.30;

duguð 160.15; dumb 26.12; durre 508.32; duru 64.31; -flugon 544.29; -fruma 8.20; fultum 4.8; funde 414.20; -funden 340.5; grund- 72.5; -gunnen 270.18; -gunnon 314.10; -gute 420.1; hund 20.31; hungor 58.30; hunta 576.14; huntian 576.25; iugoð 322.33; -lugon 44.26; -lumpen 316.31; -lumpon 352.24; -luron 360.28; lust 58.17; -luton 538.18; mund- 330.27; -munde 42.24; pluccian 212.35; -runnen 40.29; scrutnian 582.26; scuton 404.4; -scufon 402.17; -sprungon 610.10; stunt 96.11; sum 2.4; sumerlic 98.22; sund 16.7; -sundron 152.3; -sungen 56.27; -sungon 582.32; sunne 14.27; sunu 10.10; swulton 404.2; swunce 102.18; swunge 384.6; -swungen 392.3; -trum 4.21; -truma 442.34; wyrtruma 132.7; trumny's 52.13; tugon 246.11; tunge 8.1; tungol 64.30; turnian (?) 514.23; -ðunden 330.20; -ðungen 344.12; ðurfon 138.21; ðurh 2.4; ðurstig 582.25; ðus 78.19; under 2.16; undern 74.21; ungel (?) 522.35; unne 506.27; -unnen 366.16; -unnon 370.8; upp 246.5; urnon 470.7; wuldor 32.26; wund 50.26; -wunden 340.1; -wundon 84.32; wundor 4.31; -wunnen 354.8; -wunnon 218.17; wurdon 316.18; wurm 102.6; wurpon 246.2.

2. WG. *o*, WS. *u*:—bucca (COSIJN, § 47) 590.15; cnucian 248.31; fugel 14.28; full 34.7; furðon 52.34; furður 360.29; hule 336.10; lufian 10.20; murcnian 140.19; must 314.21; pusa 254.31; spurnan 116.20; ufan 6.7; -uferian 80.28; ufor 70.35; wulf 36.15.

3. WG. *o* BEFORE NASALS, WS. *u*:—cuman 2.19; guma 200.21; -hunig 352.7; -numa 32.34; -numen 296.6; ðunres- 214.28; wunian 4.10; wunung 12.27.

4. DUE TO *w*-INFLUENCE UPON *eo* OR *io*, THEMSELVES THE RESULT OF BREAKING OR OF *u*- OR *o*-UMLAUT OF A WG. *e* OR *i*:—cucu 16.4; hwurf- fan 562.13; suwian (WG. *i*) 56.18; swura 46.23; swurd 84.18; swustur 86.30; swutele 608.29; -swutelian 8.4; swutellice 38.8; tuwa 24.28; betwux 4.33; uton 14.18; wuce 100.27; wudu 62.34; wuduwe 66.16; wurpan 50.16; wurð 62.8; -wurðan 4.5; wurðian 22.32; wurðmynt 10.17; arwurðnes 24.34.

5. THE CONTRACTION OF *e* + *u*:—bufan 38.31.

6. SHORTENED FROM WS. *u*, WG. *ú*, WITH GEMINATION OF FOLLOWING CONSONANT:—hluttur 58.11.

7. AFTER THE ANALOGY OF THE PRETERITS OF CONTRACT VERBS OF THE SECOND ABLAUT CLASS:—ðugon 444.15.

8. LATIN *o* BEFORE NASALS, WS. *u*:—munuc 2.1; munt 440.15; pund 400.19.

9. FOREIGN:—culfre 104.21; Judeisc 48.19; purpura 328.11; tunece 34.29; turtle 140.1.

THE VOWEL *ü*.

1. WG. *ü*, WS. *ü*:—brucan 12.34; bugan 4.28; bur 458.27; -gebur 340.8; clut 424.19; dun 8.25; ful 458.6; hlud 74.6; huxlice (?) 48.23; hus 30.14; lutian 496.19; rum 36.2; scrud 66.1; scufan 58.26; -scunian (COSIJN, § 82) 114.5; scur 64.31; sucun 246.21; susl 6.6; truwa 170.28; truwian 2.16; tun- 422.11; ðruh 564.19; ðusend 38.5; -uhtan 74.20; ut 6.12.

2. WG. *ö*, PRECEDED BY *w*:—hu 6.10; huhe 274.3; huru 72.15; (bu)tu 18.10.

3. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WG. *a* (COSIJN, § 7):—*bu(tu)* 18.10.
4. THE CONTRACTION OF *e* + *u*:—*butan* 2.13 (*buton* 344.30).
5. LENGTHENED FROM WG. *u*, WITH ECTHLIPSIS. a) OF *g*:—*-brude* 394.14; *-frunon* 456.7. b) OF *n*:—*cuð* 2.4; *cuðe* 2.11; *dust* 18.18; *husul* 34.18; *muð* 54.16; *suð* 504.8; *-ðuht* 318.27; *ðuhte* 292.5; *ure* 2.19; *us* 76.6; *uðe* 452.19; *uðwita* (GREIN) 60.31.
6. THE RESULT OF SECONDARY LENGTHENING OF *u*:—*iu* 62.25; *mund* 504.19; *mundian* 274.6; *munt* 504.28; *nu* 20.31; *swurd* 482.22; *ðu* 6.28; *unforht* 592.8; *up* 188.21; *wundor* 26.2.

THE VOWEL *y*.

1 THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *u*:—*bryne* 132.26; *-bryrdan* 58.14; *-bryttan* 464.27; *bydel* 4.12; *-byligan* 564.29; *-byrd* 2.5; *-byrdnys* 28.24; *byrgen* 26.15; *byrian* 18.1; *-byrian* 2.2; *byrig* 22.20; *byrgan* 26.35; *byrðen* 62.34; *byrðere* 308.12; *byrðre* 210.16; *gebytle* 66.11; *bytning* 516.10; *-clyppan* 136.25; *cyfe* 58.25; *cyme* 24.13; *cymst* 34.21; *cymð* 28.14; *cyning* 2.3 (*cyneg* 232.4, *cyng* 212.7); *cynn* 2.19; *cyrc* 42.35; *cyrclic* 150.26; *cyre* 10.19; *-cyrf* (?) 94.32; *cyrnel* 236.17; *cýrtel* 64.13; *cyssan* 430.31; *cyst* 66.2; *cystig* 60.14; *-dwyld* (?) 8.14; *-dyre* 310.28; *dyrstig* 506.31; *dyrstignes* 70.7; *-dyrst-* 2.15; *dyselīg* 94.35; *dyslic* 60.22; *frymð* 4.1; *fylian* 382.18; *fyligan* 50.28; *fyllan* 58.24; *fylst* 8.8; *fyrhtan* 30.17; *fyrnest* 44.14; *-fyrðrian* 210.13; *gyre* 470.8; *gyden* 426.7; *gylden* 60.29; *gylt* 164.27; *gyrdel* 86.9; *gyte* 544.24; *hlyst* 138.27; *hlystan* 54.16; *hlyte* 346.29; *hryre* 32.38; *-hwyrf* 30.2; *-hycgan* 300.19; *-hyldan* 542.29; *hyll* 576.26; *hyrdel* 430.23; *hyrn-* 106.12; *hyrned* 102.7; *hyse-* 80.15; *-lybbe* 72.24; *lyffetung* 492.32; *lyffetynd* 492.28; *lyften* 308.3; *lyre* 6.27; *oflyst* 136.6; *lystan* 148.24; *-mynd* 220.3; *-myndan* 80.12; *-myndig* 6.9; *mynegian* 56.20; *-mynegian* 88.22; *mynegung* 6.29; *mynetere* 406.17; *myenster* 2.4; *wurðmynt* 10.17; *myrig* 154.11; *myrhð* 154.11; *nyt* 412.12; *ryne* 80.32; *-rynel* 356.21; *rysel* 522.34; *ryðða* 372.34; *scyld* 410.11; *-scyl-* *dian* 12.21; *-scyldig* 6.34; *scyle* 198.28; *-scyle* 608.32; *scytra* 612.33; *-scyttan* 540.31; *-slype* 456.19; *smylte* 182.32; *smyltnys* 608.13; *spryttan* 216.14; *spyrnð* 390.10; *styrian* 44.28; *styrung* 360.16; *syfling* (Cf. GREIN s. v. *gesyflan*) 188.19; *symbol* 20.35; *syn* 6.2; *synderlice* 22.23; *getrymman* 4.9; *tyrnan* 514.20; *-ðryccean* 534.25; *-ðryccednys* 608.7; *-ðrymm* 28.15; *(æ)ðryt* (?) 88.32; *-ðyldigan* 56.16; *-ðyldlice* 56.13; *ðyllic* 42.30; *-ðyrl* 584.28; *ðyrnen* 162.14; *ðyrstan* 336.3; *-wynsum* 184.1; *andwyrdan* 62.6; *awyrdnys* 136.31; *(for)wyrd* 4.12; *-wyrčan* 4.24; *gewyrdelic* 58.7; *wyrdwritere* 80.5; *wyrhta* 8.5; *wyrm* 132.19; *wyrt* 304.25; *wyrtruma* 132.7; *yfel* 4.12; *yfemest* 308.9; *ymbe* 10.3.

2. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF *ie*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *ea*:—*gebyld* 52.17; *-byldan* 310.7; *byldo* 2.8; *cwylmian* 86.3; *cyle* 84.14; *-cyrran* 6.29; *-fyldan* 184.31; *fyll* 380.28; *-fyllan* 380.20; *fylð* 160.6; *fyrð* 312.3; *gyrd* 62.34; *gyrela* 298.31; *gyrla* 88.35; *-hwyrfan* 60.23; *hwyrflian* 514.21; *-hyldan* 160.34; *hylt* 54.13; *hyrwan* 424.13; *-myrran* 372.3; *nyrwan* 34.35; *-nyrwian* 410.1; *-scyppan* 16.21; *styrnlic* 182.34; *sylen* 584.17; *syllan* 54.4; *syrewung* 80.34; *syrwan* 82.20; *syrwian* 374.19; *-ðryle* 34.34; *-ðwyhð* 618.12; *wyrcð* 154.27; *-wyldan* 28.12; *-wyllde*

568.9; wyll-22.3; wylm 96.25; -wyltan 222.8; -wyriged 18.16; -wyrnan 14.3; -wyrpan 46.3; wyxð 278.25; yld 84.3; yldian 350.14; ylding 220.9; yldra 60.23; yrmðu 184.32.

3. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *eo*, *io*:—*-brycð* 272.6; *byrnan* 118.2; *byrð* 182.12; *-cnyrðnys* 118.7; *cwyrn*-514.17; *cwyst* 380.3; *cwyð* 54.29; *cyrfð* 472.15; *cyrm* 618.17; *-fyrn* 94.12; *fyr*-106.21; *-fyrðian* 124.31; *gyhða* 86.12; *gyrnan* 140.32; *hyrde* 6.13; *hyre* (gsf.) 346.26; *hyre* (dsf.) 276.13; *-hyrtan* 152.31; *-lyhtan* 400.25; *scylfe* 166.16; *-scyrtan* 4.6; *tyrian* 132.26; *tyrwan* 20.33; *wyfst* 488.25; *-wyrpst* 588.5; *wyrresta* 384.3; *wyrsa* 10.35; *wyrsian* 124.26; *wyrsta* 66.29; *-wyrð* 264.22; *yrfe*-32.34; *yrnan* 104.5; *yrðian* 362.30; *yrðung* 592.3; *yrð*-450.11; *yrðling* 342.6.

4. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *io*, *eo*, THE *o*-UMLAUT OF WG. *i*:—*-byfian* 108.21; *clypian* 6.31; *gynian* 160.9; *hyra* (gpl.) 452.15; *andlyfa* 398.31; *syððan* 6.15; (Cf. SIEVERS-COOK, § 109. N.); *tylian* 242.1; *ðysne* 364.22.

5. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE *u*-UMLAUT OF WG. *i*:—*lyma* 604.35; *lymum* 596.14; *syndon* 276.8.

6. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *i*, WG. *i*:—*-bysegian* (COSIJN, § 32, p. 50) 306.3; *bysmor* 152.7; *byst* 438.24; *byternys* 408.26; *cwyç*-328.21; *cwyddian* 364.14; *cwyde* 28.20; *cwyld* 614.9; *-cwysan* (?) 60.24; *cyld* 140.1; *cyrps* 456.24; *-dylegian* 68.11; *fylmen* 94.13; *fyren*-96.15; *fyrst* 58.22; *fyðer*-364.28; *gyf* 464.22; *angyn* 70.19; *-gynnan* 612.5; *hwylc* 286.26; *lybban* 266.2; *mycel* 2.9; *myld* 210.9; *myslic* 84.24; *nygon*-432.21; *nygoða* 554.11; *nyðemest* 536.10; *nyðer* 170.23; *-nyðerian* 300.29; *nyðeward* 536.9; *scylling* 88.4; *scynmen* 244.29; *-styllan* 156.19; *-swycon* 70.32; *swyft* 296.33; *-swylcð* 216.12; *swylt* 6.30; *swymman* 276.13; *syge* 84.31; *sylfren* 366.25; *symle* 36.14; *synd* 244.10; *untwylice* 282.30; *getwysa* 110.21; *tydder* 286.8; *-tymbrian* 144.33; *ðyder* 384.13; *-ðyged* 266.15; *ðygen* 266.17; *ðyses* 324.8; *ðysre* 294.23; *ðyssera* 266.17; *ðyssera* 272.4; *wylla* 258.19; *wyllan* 20.28; *wynstre* 222.14; *ylca* (?) 6.23.

7. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *i*, WG. *e*, BEFORE A NASAL:—*-nyman* 322.9.

8. THE RESULT OF THE INFLUENCE OF THE PRECEDING *w* IN WS. *weo*, *wio*, DEVELOPED FROM AN ORIGINAL WG. *we*, *wi*:—*swyster* 58.20; *ðwyr* 174.27; *ðwyrlic* 4.22; *ðwymys* 4.32; *wyðewe* 60.12; *wyrnan* 4.3; *wyrð* 4.33.

9. DUE TO THE INFLUENCE OF A PRECEDING PALATAL. a) ON *e*:—*gyddian* 410.16; *gyfan* 20.17; *-gyfen* 498.34; *gyfta* 58.8; *gyld* 70.23; *-gyldan* 96.19; *gylp* 62.7; *gyrstan* 56.33; *gyse* (?) 14.4; *-gytan* 140.3; *-scyldan* 52.15; *-scyrian* 98.9. b) ON *ɛ*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *ɛ*:—*-scyndan* 48.19.

10. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE PALATAL UMLAUT OF *eo*, WHICH HAS ARISEN FROM WG. *e* THROUGH BREAKING:—*syll* (SIEVERS-COOK, § 101, N. 2) 6.15; *syx* 202.2; *syxtig*-148.20.

11. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ɛ*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *ɛ*, WG. *a* BEFORE A NASAL:—*cynnestre* 352.27; *-stynt* 158.35.

12. THE CONTRACTION OF *e* + *i*:—*bynnan* 22.1; *nys* 274.21; *nyste*

366.6; nyston 106.4; nytan 92.30; nyte 348.30; nyten 62.14; nytennys 384.27.

13. SHORTENED FROM *y* WITH GEMINATION OF THE FOLLOWING CONSONANT;—*ðrynnys* 134.4; *ytra* 530.14.

14. WG. *a*:—*swylc* (Goth. *swaleiks*) 32.25.

15. FOREIGN:—*cyrographum* 300.5; *gymm* (WS. *i*, Lat. *e* followed by nasal), 458.24; *myrram* 78.28 (*myrran* 116.6.)

16. OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN:—*dyde* 352.17; *nywerenan* 566.5; *wyln* 110.27.

THE VOWEL *y*.

1. THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *u*:—*bryd* 58.14; *-byhð* 288.9; *bysen* 8.1; *bysnian* 6.23; *-clysan* 86.30; *clysing* 332.20; *dry* 370.31; *drygð* 284.35; *drypan* (COSIJN, § 83) 118.4; *-fylan* 110.20; *fyr* (COSIJN, § 107) 6.3; *fyren* (COSIJN, § 107) 132.18; *Hlyda* 100.5; *hydan* 108.18; *hyra* (COSIJN, § 83) 238.13; *lyt* 6.22; *lytel* 64.14; *ryman* 28.12; *rymet* 30.14; *geryne* 90.8; *geryno* 154.6; *scrydan* 18.20; *ðryh* 222.8; *ðyde* (COSIJN, § 83) 88.10; *yting* 34.13.

2. THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *u* (FROM WG. *un*):—*cyðan* 6.32; *cyðere* 384.28; *cyððu* 396.27; *hryðer-* 322.35; *hyðð* 240.30; *yð* 108.17; *yðung* 492.1.

3. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *ēa*:—*byme* 6.32; *cypa* 406.17; *gecype* 406.17; *cyping* 406.6; *cypman* 406.1; *-dydan* 402.11; *-flyað* 344.28; *-flyman* 524.28; *gyman* 342.31; *gyme-* 8.12; *gymen* 28.21; *hlytta* 34.1; *hryman* 46.33; *hyhsta* 198.30; *-hypan* 410.21; *-hype* 492.33; *hyran* 2.9; *-hyrsum* 14.5; *-hyrsumian* 12.12; *-lyfan* 24.26; *-lysan* 6.29; *-lyft* 226.3; *nyd-* 256.30; *nydan* 12.15; *nyten* 14.14; *-rypan* 66.11; *-scyte* 466.14; *slype* 376.30; *stypel* 22.19; *syfernys* 360.5; *syfre* 596.32; *gesyman* 458.23; *-tygan* 206.11; *tyman* 18.26; *ycan* 32.20; *-ywan* 170.33.

4. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *ēo*:—*bryð* 250.21; *-byt* 178.27; *bytt* 358.31; *dyrling* 58.1; *flyhð* 238.14; *frynd* 50.23; *fynd* 50.24; *hryst* 368.25; *-hrywð* 598.8; *-lyhtan* 286.1; *-lyst* 54.1; *-lysð* 338.24; *lyðer* (Cf. COSIJN, § 106) 168.6; *scyt* 362.22; *-scyt* 346.5; *strynan* 20.8; *styran* 360.15; *ansyn* 46.6; *twyn* 116.16; *betwynan* (?) 256.30; *twynian* 132.27; *twynung* 72.32; *tyñ* 10.12; *ðystru* 144.10.

5. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *io* BEFORE *w*:—*hywed* 405.11; *nyw* 540.34; *nywelny* 174.25.

6. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, THE RESULT OF PALATAL INFLUENCE ON *ē*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *ó*:—*gescy* 404.5.

7. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF *æ*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *á*, WG. *ai*:—*bryden* (?) 288.4.

8. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *é*, WG. *ē*:—*myse* 188.34.

9. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *é*, *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *ó*:—*bewypan* (?) 84.29.

10. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *í*, WG. *î*:—*gyfernys* 86.6; *gytsere* 64.33; *hyred* 92.10; *hywan* 430.31; *-ryman* 538.12; *-scyran* 298.33; *-swycð* 304.27; *twyfealdlic* 140.16; *tyma* 18.26; *ðrym* 368.1; *ydel* 60.33; *-ydlían* 60.5.

11. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *í* (FROM WG. *in*):—*-swyðan* 462.12; *swyðe* 372.1; *swyðra* 48.11.

12. THE CONTRACTION OF *i + e*:—sy 54.15; syn (?) 264.1; ðry 20.29.
 13. THE CONTRACTION OF *i + u* (COSIJN, § 40):—ðy 382.32.
 14. LENGTHENED FROM *y*, AFTER LOSS OF A FOLLOWING *g*:—
 ingehyd 280.12.
 15. DUE TO SECONDARY LENGTHENING OF *y*, THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *i*, WG. *i*:—ðygen 266.8.
 16. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *ie*, OF UNKNOWN ORIGIN:—gyt 14.17; gyta 608.29.

THE DIPHTHONG *ea*.

1. THE BREAKING OF WG. *a*. a) BEFORE *l* + A CONSONANT:—beald- 52.17; -bealh 372.17; ceald 320.23; -cweald 48.22; cwealm 608.18; ealdor 10.21; -ealgian 502.31; eall 4.6; ealswa 342.6; -feald- 32.25; -feald 100.19; -feallan 12.4; -geald 474.1; gealga 588.16; gealh 472.8; gealla 584.34; -healden 4.9; healf 4.31; heall 52.20; healt 26.11; -seald 474.12; sealde 62.21; sealf 220.31; sealm- 106.11; -stealde 50.2; steall 48.29; -swealh 246.12; swealt 434.11; -teald 328.29; wealcen 250.17; weald 6.19; wealdan 64.16; wealh- 436.14; weall 106.12; weallan 58.25. b) BEFORE *r* + A CONSONANT:—beard 456.18; bearn 20.7; cearcian 132.30; cweartern 72.19; dearr 458.17; eard 8.3; earfoð- 4.10; earm 64.32; -earnian 8.6; eart 54.10; fearr 502.9; geard 4.2; gearcian 12.2; heard 48.2; hearne 56.2; hearpe 322.33; hwearflian 392.34; mearcian 310.27; nearu (SIEVERS-COOK, § 105, N.) 34.32; scearp 434.8; scearpnys 58.30; searo- (SIEVERS-COOK, § 105, N.) 192.15; spearca 466.26; stearc 362.34; sweart 4.13; teart- 330.1; ðearf 342.2; ðearflice 556.15; ðearfa 54.2; ðearl 34.34; weard 572.30; forweard 92.34; inweardlice 58.16; wiðerweardnys 12.22; -wearp 246.18; wearð 2.2. c) BEFORE *h*, + A CONSONANT OR FINAL:—eahta 90.29; leahor 6.33; -leahtrian 8.12; -seah 2.8; seax 88.9; geðeaht 44.30; ðeahtian 572.30; weaxan 20.19; -weaxen 258.18.

2. THE *u*-UMLAUT OF WG. *a*:—bealu 266.14; -freatwian 62.26; gearu 18.2; -sceadewian 198.30; sceadu (but cf. SIEVERS-COOK, § 105, N. 1) 316.15; sceadwung 610.1; screafe (dat. sing.; from analogy of the plural) 406.3.

3. DUE TO THE INFLUENCE OF A PRECEDING PALATAL UPON WG. *a*:—ceaf 594.6; ceafas 534.17; ceaster 30.20; -geaf 76.12; geafol 430.5; geat 76.3; -sceacan 212.10; gesceaft 8.24; sceal 6.14; scealt 578.17; sceamian 18.12; sceamu 256.5; -sceamul 262.5; -sceap 94.1; -sceapen 70.17; gesceapu 86.10; sceatt 88.4; sceaða 72.30; sleac (SIEVERS-COOK, § 210.1) 602.15; sleacnys 350.15.

4. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *eo*, THE *o*-UMLAUT OF WG. *i*:—teala 332.15.

5. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *eo*, THE BREAKING OF WG. *e*:—Sifhearwen (a corruption of the stem of *hweorfan* ?) 454.11.

THE DIPHTHONG *ea*.

1. WG. *au*, WS. *éa*:—beacen 44.22; -bead 294.17; beagian 50.12; -beah 298.28; -beamed 610.2; -beat 406.8; beatan 432.12; -beaten 432.12; breac 450.2; -bread 10.18; ceac- 428.1; ceap 406.15; -ceapian 62.3; -ceas 258.9; ceast 408.26; deadlic 14.2; deaf 26.13; dreah

452.25; dream 524.34; eac 2.16; eaca 30.9; eacan 52.20; eadignys 32.32; eadmodnys 12.27; eage 18.3; eah- 474.8; eala (COSIJN, § 92) 40.6; eare 46.33; eastan 42.34; Easter- 182.3; eaðelic 4.7; fleah 466.12; fleam (COSIJN, § 92) 82.26; geaplice (Cf. GREIN, s. v. *geap*) 80.9; gleawlice 122.18; great 52.8; heafod 30.4; heah 10.13; heap 298.10; heāwan 62.34; hleapung 480.35; hream 156.26; -hreas 608.26; -leac 272.15; lead 254.26; leaf 236.19; geleafa 6.19; leah 170.4; lean 200.16; edlean 6.6; leas 4.30; leasung 6.5; leat 296.2; neadian 4.18; read 46.16; reaf 18.19; -reafian 428.5; -sceaf 570.28; sceat 502.18; sceawian 76.11; screadian (?) 88.9; seam 20.33; -searian 610.19; seað 488.5; smeagan (COSIJN, § 92) 10.2; steam 86.14; steap 456.17; stream 562.15; streamlic 444.10; streaw 404.6; racenteag 434.8; teah 378.9; team 238.1; ðeah 2.1; ðeaw 94.32; ðreagan 66.34; ðreagian 360.17; ðreal 362.34; ðrean 52.18; ðreat 346.32; ðreatian 126.6; ðreatung 410.8; ðreað 530.7.

2. DUE TO THE INFLUENCE OF A PRECEDING PALATAL UPON *æ* OR *ā*:—gea 316.32; gear 4.31; -geaton 68.4; -scead 96.13; -sceaðan 344.2; -scean 30.16; sceap 240.18; sceað 482.32.

3. DUE TO THE INFLUENCE OF A FOLLOWING *w* ON AN ORIGINAL WG. *a*:—feawe 70.21.

4. DUE TO THE INFLUENCE OF A FOLLOWING *w* UPON *æ*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF *ā*, WG. *ai*:—eaw- 314.12; hreaw 380.34.

5. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WG. *ā* BEFORE *h* (Cf. SIEVERS-COOK, § 57.2. d):—neawist (*h* has disappeared) 346.18.

6. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WS. *eo*, WG. *iū*:—hreaw 606.1.

7. THE CONTRACTION OF WG. *a + o, u*:—ea 86.20; geslea 568.32; -sleað 86.35; tear 66.29; -ðwean 464.17.

8. THE CONTRACTION OF WG. *ā + u*:—nean 24.14; near 268.27.

9. THE CONTRACTION OF WG. *e + o* (Cf. SIEVERS-COOK, § 113):—gefea 30.19; gefean 340.17.

10. AFTER THE ANALOGY OF THE PRETERITS OF THE SECOND ABLAUT CLASS:—ðeah 558.10; -wreah 328.16.

11. LENGTHENED FROM *ea*, THE PALATALIZATION OF WG. *a*, WITH ECTHIPSIS OF THE FOLLOWING *g*:—ongean 10.26.

THE DIPHTHONG *eo*.

1. THE BREAKING OF *e, i*. a) BEFORE *r* + A CONSONANT:—beorg 40.34; -beorgan 416.17; beorhtnys 30.16; ceorfan 516.4; ceorlian 238.1; -cneordlice 36.11; -deorf 56.3; eornostlice 38.13; eorðe 6.9; feorh 88.17, (feore, dat., 384.7); -feormian 98.14; feorr 106.16; feorran 358.7; -georn 60.14; geornlice 8.11; heorcnian 362.11; heorcnung 26.13; heord- 502.10; héorte 10.23; leorning 2.20; neorxna- (?) (but cf. GREIN) 12.34; gereord 2.7; steorfan 398.34; steorra 14.28; ðweoran 232.7; ðweorh 302.30; ðweorian 380.8; weorc 8.7; weornian 64.15; -weorðan 14.35. b) BEFORE *h*, + A CONSONANT OR FINAL:—feoh 66.10; feohtan 48.30; leohtra (breaking of shortened WG. *ī*) 330.11; meox 118.15; pleoh 178.34; .beseoh 566.14; -teohode 198.27; betweox 246.2. c) BEFORE *m*: eom 4.3.

2. THE *u*-UMLAUT OF *e, i*:—ceosol 536.31; heofon 6.8; heonon

22.13; beneoðan 86.9; neoðor 50.4; seofontig 26.6; seofoða 14.31; seolfor 22.29; sweoster 260.19; fisteogoða 310.24; weoruld 4.19.

3. THE *o*-UMLAUT OF *e, i*:—ceorian 338.10; heora 70.22; hreopian 316.16; bigleofa 54.3; leofast 584.17; leofað 266.1; leofode 392.19; endleofa 298.5; teolian 392.19; teolung 66.10; -teorian 58.10; -teorigendlic 56.16.

4. DUE TO PALATAL INFLUENCE ON *o, u*:—geoc 212.10; geogoð 340.27; geond 308.19; geong 48.1; sceocca 166.26; -sceofen 270.2; sceoldest 592.24; sceole 594.10; sceolon 264.34; -sceop 106.11; bisceop 290.3; -sceoren 488.9; sceorian 72.9; -sceoten 506.7.

5. THE RESULT OF CONTRACTION IN THE PRETERITS OF CERTAIN REDUPLICATING VERBS:—feol 316.29 (feoll 316.34); feollon 244.16; -heold 560.1; heoldon 378.26; weolc 448.17; -weold 402.27; weollon 472.30.

THE DIPHTHONG *éo*.

1. WG. *eu*, WS. *éo*:—ðeodan 14.8; -beor 484.1; -beorscipe 74.16; breost 84.16; -breoðan 268.11; -ceocod (?) 216.16; ceosan 24.20; anc cleow* 466.25; creopan 486.29; deop 514.18; deopnys 110.33; deor 360.18; deorcynn 14.14; dreorig 60.15; eow (dat.) (KLUGE) 330.5; eow (acc.) (KLUGE) 16.33; eower 416.5; fleogan 380.17; fleoh 78.33; fleoð 142.9; gret 74.24; heofian 180.15; heofigan 86.33; heofung 342.14; hleoðrian 38.7; hreoða 120.14; hreoða 122.29; hreofig 26.11; hreoh 182.33; hreosan 380.28; -hreosan 72.2; hreow 6.16; hreowsung 68.17; leod 70.6; leof 28.20; leogan 16.20; leoht 18.22; leoma 108.18; -leosan 112.2; neod 42.6; -neolian 44.1; reocan 336.33; -reonian 388.5; -reonung 380.7; -reow 232.30; sceotan 170.1; -seoc 26.13; steor 186.20; -streon 60.23; teona (COSIJN, § 101) 48.15; ðeod 6.21; ðeof 72.19; ðeosterfull 68.4; ðeostru 36.19; -ðeote 22.4; ðeotan 374.9.

2. DUE TO THE INFLUENCE OF A PRECEDING PALATAL UPON *ó*:—geomerian 142.17; -sceoc 570.14; -sceop 276.2; sceopon 478.9.

3. DUE TO THE INFLUENCE OF A FOLLOWING *w* ON AN ORIGINAL WG. *e, i*:—cneowian 578.7; cneowu 48.4; eowd 244.6; eowod 30.15; feower 16.5; treow 18.3; treowa 102.22; ðeowa 38.26; ðeowian 74.1; ðeowrace 446.17.

4. DUE TO THE INFLUENCE OF A FOLLOWING *w* ON WS. *é*, THE *i*-UMLAUT OF WG. *ó*:—fleowð 102.30; speowð 526.16.

5. THE CONTRACTION OF *i* OR *i* + *a* OR *á*:—beot 568.22; -beotlice 380.29; deofol 4.15; freolice 228.2; freols 76.26.

6. THE CONTRACTION OF *i* OR *i* + *o* OR *u*:—beo 374.20; beon 266.6; beoð 342.35; eode (COSIJN, § 38.2) 400.26; feond 56.5; freond 56.6; heo 24.26; seo 24.33; -ðeon 100.31; ðeos 276.12; ðreo 24.9; ðreora 42.34; -wreon 278.14; -wreod 580.27.

7. THE CONTRACTION OF *e* + *o* OR *u*:—seo (acc. sing.) 516.23; geseo 386.29; geseon 72.14; -teontig 92.20; teoða 10.21; teoðian 178.30; tweo 106.30; untweolice 360.25; betweonan 30.28; tweonian 72.30.

8. THE CONTRACTION OF *éo* + A FOLLOWING VOWEL:—feorða 4.31;

*Either by gradation from Germ. *ae*, or from analogy of *cudow*, etc. Thus, 'Phil. Soc. Eng. Dict.' s. v. *ankle*.

feorðlincg 268.1; feos (gen.) 452.23 (féo, dat., 316.25); fleon 372.17; -teo 22.11; -teon 82.22.

9. THE REPRESENTATIVE OF WG. *au*:—eowian 74.13.

10. LENGTHENED FROM *eo* WITH ECTHLIPSIS OF A FOLLOWING *h*, THE *eo* BEING DERIVED FROM *i*, WG. *i*:—weofod 54.19.

11. LENGTHENED OWING TO ANALOGY:—freoh 76.13 (after the analogy of the contract form *fréo*).

13. THE RESULT OF CONTRACTION IN THE PRETERITS OF CERTAIN REDUPLICATING VERBS:—beoton 424.32; -bleow 12.29; -cneow 314.14; -cneowon 438.8; fleow 86.11; heowon 112.33; hweos 86.7; -weop 604.27; -weope 402.5.

14. AFTER THE ANALOGY OF THE PRETERITS OF THE REDUPLICATING VERBS:—speonon 410.33; weox 356.33; weoxon 186.31.

15. AFTER THE ANALOGY OF THE PRESENT TENSE:—hreow 66.21.

16. AFTER THE ANALOGY OF SUCH VERBS AS *beoðan*:—sceofan 590.33.

17. FOREIGN:—leo 102.5; preost 2.1.

V.—*The Huguenot Element in Charleston's Pronunciation.*

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In a paper read a year ago before this body I endeavored to sketch the main features of the Anglo-Saxon element in the pronunciation of Charleston, reserving for some future occasion the Huguenot, German, and negro influences upon the same. In the present paper, I purpose investigating the influence which the Huguenots may have had upon the English sounds; for it is evident that such a large foreign element as that of the Huguenots of Charleston, could not have been incorporated into the body politic of the State in its very infancy without exerting a considerable influence upon the manners and customs, the politics and legislation, the grammar and language, of the whole community.—But a short sketch of the Huguenot refugees in South Carolina, of their first settlements and incorporation into the state, and the gradual disappearance of the French language will, however, be necessary in order to show clearly the conditions under which the two languages met and struggled for the mastery. The conflict resulted in the supremacy of the English and the suppression of the French.

In the absence of an extended history, "there being no considerable account yet published of these South Carolina Huguenots," I have been compelled to gather my information from various pamphlets in which phrases of Huguenot history have been considered, and from local tradition. This element was very important in the first settlement of the State and contributed largely to its formation and development. The foremost patriots and statesmen came from its ranks to defend and guide the state during peril and in peaceful times of progress and advancement. Early in their history (1737) they formed in Charleston the "South Carolina Society," a "benevolent organization which, in 1837, celebrated its centennial" (PROF. WM. J. RIVERS in WINSOR'S 'Narrative and Critical History of America,' vol. v, p. 349). They have ever been identified with the party of progress and shown themselves the most public-spirited citizens on all occasions.

In tracing back the history of the Huguenots it will be found

that the larger proportion of the families came from the towns and villages of the Loire and Gironde (departments of Angoumois, Saintonge, and Aunis). They escaped first to Holland and England and passed thence to this country. The little district of Aunis, which had been cut off from Saintonge and appended to La Rochelle, was more especially the birthplace of American Huguenots, since it sent a larger number to us than any other part of France. Saintonge and La Rochelle were well represented. The island of Ré, just opposite La Rochelle, also sent a small quota. But emigrants from all parts of France gathered here,—Picardy, Bretagne, Tours, St. Amboise, Poitou, Soubise, Normandy, Guyenne, Loudun, St. Soline, Montpellier, Paris, Berry, Brie, Dieppe, being represented. Switzerland also furnished a few settlers from Yverdon.—We shall have to base our investigation principally, therefore, on the pronunciation of the French of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in and about La Rochelle, La Saintonge, and Aunis, with allowances for dialectical differences for the other sections represented.

The first notice we have of the French settling in South Carolina is in 1670, when Richard Batin, Jacques Jours, Richard Deyos, and others were made freeholders with the same rights in every respect as the English colonists. WEISS in his history of the Huguenots says: "Everything induces us to believe that these French emigrants were refugees for religion's sake, for the state archives of Charleston contain numerous like concessions, made to Huguenot fugitives, during the first years of the establishment of the colony. In 1677, to Jean Bullon; in 1678, to Jean Bazant and Richard Gaillard; in 1683, to Marie Batton, wife of Jean Batton." In 1680, the English frigate, *The Richmond*, brought over forty-five French refugees to Carolina "by express command of Charles II, who paid himself the expenses of their transportation. A more considerable number soon followed them, in another vessel chartered by the English government" (*Ibid.*). Besides the Huguenots who came directly to South Carolina, many of those who had settled in various parts of America finally immigrated there. For this reason, a large proportion of the French fugitives seeking an asylum in this country settled definitely in this State where the climate was so nearly like that of Southern France. The most of the French refugees in Virginia and North Carolina left their first American homes and removed to the French settlements in and about Charleston, "the Home of the Huguenots in the New World."

They established themselves in various places of secondary importance, but formed three principal colonies: 1. Orange Quarter, on the banks of Cooper River; 2. Santee; 3. Charleston.

1. Orange Quarter, on the banks of the Cooper River, lay amid the primitive forests where they could "worship God without fear of man or of royal edicts, and their psalms mingled with the free winds of heaven." In the early days of the settlement they used to attend church in Charleston, rowing thither in their convenient boats. They first formed a settlement on the site of the modern Strawberry Ferry, where they built a church, "of which Florent Philippe Trouillart became the first pastor."

2. The Santee received its principal grant of three hundred acres of land in 1705, to René Ravenel, Barthélemy Gaillard, and Henri Bruneau. One hundred (some say one hundred and eighty) French families settled here and built Jamestown. According to the best information their first pastor was Pierre Robert, a Swiss, "who doubtless accompanied a party of the fugitives in their escape from France." This became the most flourishing colony of French emigrants to South Carolina after that of Charleston and "even acquired such importance, that the name of French Santee was given to that part of the country, which may still be found upon the old maps of North America." There were here also about sixty English families. Later, the Rev. Philip de Richbourg, "a worthy and pious man," became their pastor, or, according to some accounts, he was their first minister.

3. Far the richest and most populous Huguenot settlement was in the city of Charleston, "where entire streets were built by them. One still bears the name of the founder, Gabriel Guignard." Their first pastor was Elias Prioleau, the grandson of Antoine Prioli, who is said to have been the Doge of Venice in 1618. Elias Prioleau, was "doubtless the son of Benjamin Prioli, the godson of the Duke of Soubise, whom the Duke of Rohan had attached to himself during his sojourn in Italy." Among those affected by the edict of Nantes, "he brought from Saintonge a part of his flock, and took up his abode in Charleston, where the family exists even in our day." Among the most prominent Huguenot families who settled in Charleston and most of whose descendants are still represented and held in honor are the Bayards, Bonneaus, Benoits, Bocquets,

Bacots, Chevaliers, Cordes, Chastaquiers, Duprès, Delisles, Duboses, Dubois, Dutarques, De la Coursilières, Dubouxdieus, Fayssaux, Gaillards, Gendrons, Horrys, Guignards, Hugers, Legarés, Laurens, Lausacs, Marions, Mazycqs, Manigaults, Mallichamps, Neuville, Péronneaus, Porchers, Peyres, Ravenels, Saint Juliens, and Trevezants.

As late as 1764, the South Carolina Huguenots were further strengthened by two hundred and twelve exiles whom their pastor Gilbert accompanied. The English government furnished their passage; and vacant lands in Abbeville county were distributed to them. Here they soon built a town and named it New Bordeaux "in honor of the capital of Guienne, where most of them were born." In 1782 South Carolina numbered sixteen thousand Protestants among its citizens (the whole number being about forty thousand), of whom the greater part were French. "A politeness and elegance of manners, far superior to those of English origin, a severe morality, an unalterable charity—such were the qualities by which the refugees obtained the esteem of their fellow citizens. The little colony of French Santee became particularly noted for the exquisite urbanity of its founders. Thanks to the intolerance of Louis XIV, the French language, and with it all the perfections and all the refinements of French society in the seventeenth century, were propagated by them in these distant countries where, until then, the austere and solemn character of the English puritans had almost exclusively ruled," (WEISS i, p. 378). The conditions here described refer especially to New England. Along the coast of South Carolina puritanism found no acceptance. The finer courtly manners of England ruled; the contrast between the English and the French was not so glaring as in New England. Still that contrast which always exists between English and French manners can be perceived even here.

In determining the duration of the French language in South Carolina, the French churches will be the surest guides; for as long as the people generally spoke French, or even understood it, the service would be conducted in that language. Certain families would, of course, continue to use their native tongue in their home-life long after its discontinuance in the church service; this is more especially true in the country settlements, for in Charleston itself the French was discontinued from the very fact that no one understood the language. There is, however, no way of controlling information on this point except by tradi-

tion, a rather unsafe, though indispensable guide. I shall use both history and tradition in my endeavor to trace the history of the French language to its final disappearance.

There were in all, four French Protestant churches. The one in Charleston has ever been the principal one. It is the only one which has survived the great changes that have taken place since it was first founded in 1681 or 1682. Three outside the city were founded and maintained for a long time; one on the Santee, one at Orange Quarter, and one at St. John's Berkeley. "They are of the same opinion as the church at Geneva, having no difference among them concerning punctilios of the Christian faith; which union hath propagated a happy and delightful concord in all matters throughout the whole neighborhood, living among themselves as one tribe or kindred, every one making it his business to be assistant to the wants of his countrymen—preserving his estate and reputation with the same exactness and concern as he does his own; all seeming to share in the misfortunes and in the advancement of their brethern" (Surveyor-General LAWSON, of North Carolina). "The three churches of French Protestants outside the city of Charleston, were served by their pastors with great faithfulness—that upon the Santee, by the Rev. Pierre Robert and the Rev. Claude Phillipe de Richbourg; that on Cooper River, by the Rev. Mr. La Pierre, and that at St. John's Berkeley, by the Rev. Florente Phillipe Trouillard. These three churches were merged, at length, in the established church of the colony. The Church of England became established by law in 1706. Too poor to sustain, uninterruptedly, their own ordinances; subject to great disabilities had they been able; offered support for their church and minister by the government, they gradually yielded. Practically they did not conform to Episcopal authority until the decease of their Huguenot ministers—Mr. La Pierre, in 1728; Mr. de Richbourg, in 1717, and Mr. Trouillard, in 1712" (DR. VEDDER, *Charleston Year Book*, 1885, p. 299-300). The dates of the discontinuance of service in the French language are much later, as will be shown directly.

In the city of Charleston itself, the Huguenot church was more fortunate. It can show a long list of French pastors, extending through the eighteenth and into the first quarter of the nineteenth century. From 1816 to 1819, the Rev. Mr. Henry officiated and "preached alternately in French and English. Even the partial disuse of the French language by

Dr. Henry gave dissatisfaction, and the calling of pastor Courlat marks a return to the purely French service. The attempt failed, in the presence of the fact that French had ceased to be spoken, or generally understood, especially by the children of the immigrants. The congregation had so diminished, that a resolution was adopted, in 1828, to re-open the church with the service wholly in English" (DR. VEDDER, *ibid.*).—The present Huguenot Church probably used the French service about seventy years after it had ceased to be the language of the French Protestant churches outside the city. Sixty years have elapsed since its disuse in the service of the church. Tradition tells us, that probably none of the handful of its Huguenot members at the time of the change from French to English were able to speak or understand the French. It would, however, not seem unreasonable to conjecture that at least a few must have understood it, even if they did not speak it; else the French service would necessarily have been discontinued before. It certainly soon ceased to be spoken or understood; for, according to the best information on the subject, not even the oldest Huguenots of Charleston ever understood or spoke it, and some are well on to eighty.

The causes of the rapid disuse of the French language are briefly as follows: Having been so well received by the English king and people, and having accepted the protection of the British crown and grants of land in the new world, they would probably be influenced by a grateful sense of duty to become faithful subjects in every respect. The recollection of their bitter persecution in their native country would cause them to forget as speedily as possible anything of a distinctly national character. There was no inducement for them to preserve their mother-tongue and the children were not encouraged to speak French. By far the greatest reason was, however, their complete isolation. Under the circumstances it was impossible to maintain any relations with France. In Canada and Louisiana, where the conditions were exactly reversed, the native tongue is still spoken. State and Church also contributed to its discontinuance. The French churches surrendered their independence "in part from the difficulty of obtaining ministers of their own faith; and in part, also, from the fact that the pastors were provided by the zeal of the English church, their salaries paid, and the churches, parsonages, schoolhouses, built and kept in repair at the public-expense; while all these things came as a

heavy burden upon a people few in number and settled in a new country. Probably their greatest reason was the difficulty they encountered in their attempts to keep up the succession of their ministry." (HOWE, 'Hist. of the Presbyterian Church,' p. 192). The English Church gained the supremacy and was early acknowledged, as it were, to be the legal church of the province, receiving government aid. The Protestants, especially those of foreign birth, were at first considered aliens and disfranchised unless they conformed to the established church. To be sure this was only temporary, but it had great influence on emigrants.

Their supply of ministers was inadequate to the demand. Numerous applications for French ministers were sent to England in the hope that some of the fugitive French ministers there, would be induced to come, but this source soon failed. Therefore in 1706 the inhabitants of St. James petitioned the assembly "to have their settlement made a parish, and, at the same time, expressed their desire of being united to the Church of England." This is St. James on the Santee which contained one hundred French families. Its pastor, Philip de Richbourg, died in 1717 and was followed, in 1720, by the Rev. Mr. Pouderos, a French clergyman who was sent over by the Bishop of London. About 1707 and 1708, Dr. Le Jau (or Jean) "sometimes visited, the French settlement in Orange Quarter, St. Dennis Parish, which had no minister, and administered the Lord's supper to fifty communicants. That settlement consisted of thirty-two families." "Most of them (the Huguenots) settled in the parishes of St. Dennis and St. James, on Santee, and to them in their ecclesiastical capacity were extended the privileges of the established church with a permission to perform all their public religious exercises in the French language, provided they used Dr. Durel's translation of the book of common prayer. Those of them who settled in Charleston formed a church about the beginning of the eighteenth century on the plan of the reformed churches in France. It is rich in lands; but so many of the descendants of its original founders have joined other churches that its present numbers are few" (RAMSAY, ii, p. 88). "During this period (1730-1740) the French churches seem to have settled quietly down, excepting the one in Charleston (and perhaps in some measure that in Orange Quarter), under English rule. The Bishop of London very sagaciously supplied them with a ministry of French extraction,

who were proficient in the French language, and would be less likely to bring to their notice the change which they had made. The names of Le Jau, of Tustian, of Pouderos, of Varnod, of Tissot, of Coulet, of Du Plessis, were familiar to the French Huguenots; and with the influence these men exerted, may have done much to reconcile them to leave the customs of their fathers." (HOWE, *Ibid.*, p. 217). One more extract will put the matter in its true light. It is from CARROLL'S 'Collections,' ii, p. 553 (Year 1709.) "The district of Orange Quarter is a French settlement, but in the first division of the country into parishes, was part of St. Thomas's Parish; few of the people attended service in the English for want of the language. The major portion of them usually met together in a small church of their own, where they generally made a pretty full congregation, when they had a French minister amongst them; they were poor and unable to support their minister, and made application to the assembly of the province to be made a parish, and to have some (p. 554) publick allowance for a minister especially ordained, who should use the liturgy of the Church of England, and preach to them in French. Accordingly they were incorporated by the name of St. Dennis, till such time as they should understand English. They have now a good church built about the time St. Thomas's was, and never had but one minister, Mr. Lapierre."

All the information we can find on the subject points to the discontinuance of the French service in the country churches at about 1750. Tradition tends to the same conclusion. The names of this region still preserve their English pronunciation; "in spite of refinements and improvements of Modern Society, the Duboses and Marions are pertinaciously called Debusk and Mährion" (PROF. F. A. PORCHER). In Charleston, however, the pronunciation of the proper names has retained more of the French than of the English, as will be seen by the list later on.

In my former article, I gave a very unsatisfactory sketch of the education, reading and books of the early period of the province. I shall now attempt to complete the sketch, including all the settlers as far as that is possible. Here again I shall have to rely upon original sources and tradition. For the Huguenot element, tradition will be my only source of information, as there is no account of their literature and schools. The probability is that they brought few books with them and maintained no French schools in their new home. They certainly produced

nothing of a literary nature after their arrival. Only a few public documents, mostly wills, can be found in French. I shall quote my authorities verbatim, as the books are rare and not accessible to all. In DRAYTON'S 'Memoirs,' ii, p. 358, the author speaks as follows of the education of this period: "Before the American war, the citizen of South Carolina was too much prejudiced in favor of British manners, customs and knowledge to imagine that elsewhere than in England anything of advantage could be obtained. For reasons also, of state, perhaps, this prejudice was encouraged by the mother country, and hence the children of opulent parents were sent there for education, while attempts for supporting suitable seminaries of learning in this state were not sufficiently encouraged and promoted." In the writings of HUGH S. LEGARE, article on Education, the following occurs: "Before and just after the Revolution, many, perhaps it would be more accurate to say most, of our youth of opulent families were educated at English schools and universities. There can be no doubt their attainments in polite literature were very far superior to those of their contemporaries at the North, and the standard of scholarship in Charleston was consequently higher than in any other city on the continent."

Much has been written pro and con on the question of the early schools of the state. We can here neither enter into a partisan controversy nor give the subject a thorough and conscientious investigation from a historical point of view, as both are foreign to our present purpose. A summary of the matter will be found in WINSOR'S 'Narrative and Critical History of America' (vol. v.), in an article by PROF. J. RIVERS, and in GEN. MCCRADY'S reply to MR. MCMASTER in his 'History of the United States.' I quote from the original sources as much as will be necessary for information about the educational condition of the province and state.

PROF. RIVERS (as above, p. 303, Note) says: "It is probable there were in North and South Carolina many "private tutors" for families or neighborhoods, though few "public schools" supported by taxation" (1754). RAMSAY (vol. ii. of his 'History of South Carolina,' pp. 357, 362, 372, 376, 382) gives a fairer view of the whole system of education in the state. I give the important part (pp. 357-8). "The corporations of these free schools were cherished by government. They were favored in taking uplands which have ever since been increasing in value.

They formed a center to which were drawn the donations and bequests of the charitable. From the triple source of tuition money, public bounty and private donations, a fund was created which diffused the means of education far beyond what could have been accomplished by uncombined exertions conducted without union or system.

With the growing wealth of the province the schools became more numerous and co-extended with the spreading population. The number of individuals who could afford to maintain private tutors and of natives who were sent abroad for education increased in like manner. None of the British provinces in proportion to their numbers sent so many of their sons to Europe for education as South Carolina. (With the exception of Virginia, no State in the Union has obtained a greater or even an equal proportion of national honors. This was in some degree the consequence of the attention paid by the early settlers of Carolina to the liberal education of their children)."

In speaking of schools and colleges he says (p. 359): "Men of moderate circumstances had not influence enough to carry it through (a bill for a college), and the rich did not need it; for they disregarded the expense of sending their sons to the seminaries of Europe."

Societies were formed which aided the cause of education by their influence and substantial support. "Education," says RAMSAY, p. 362, "has also been fostered in South Carolina by several societies as a part of a general plan of charity. The oldest of this class is the South Carolina Society which was formed about the year 1737. It pays the salary of a schoolmaster and schoolmistress for the education of children of both sexes."

RAMSAY'S general remarks on the subject of education are worth repeating (pp. 372-3): "Though the state and individuals have done much to encourage education among the youth of Carolina, the proportion of the rising generation which is pressing forward with such ardent zeal for knowledge, as bids fair to secure them seats in the temple of fame is lamentably small. In genius they are not deficient, but perseverance in a long-continued close application to study is too often wanting. Many of them will not learn Greek at all. Others learn it so superficially that it is soon forgotten. Very few can bring their knowledge of either Latin or Greek classics to bear on any subject of conversation, or writing, seven years after they have

done with school. What is thoroughly learned cannot be so easily forgotten. A few with little or no classical education, by the help of superior natural powers and an industrious course of English reading, have made a distinguished figure in public life. Their success, like the largest prizes in a lottery, inspire false hopes in the breasts of others who have neither the talents nor the industry of those whom they affect to resemble. So much of the precious period of youth is frequently spent in doing nothing of any value or in frivolous amusements, that too little is left for completing a solid education in its proper season. Whether this is attained or not, the pursuit of it oftener terminates under twenty, than continues beyond that period. Several affect to be men, and some are really fathers when they ought to be at school."

On pp. 382-383, RAMSAY gives a summary of the results of the educational efforts to the beginning of the present century (1810): "In the course of the 106 years while South Carolina was a colony, the whole number of persons born there who obtained the honors of literary degrees in colleges or universities, as far as can be recollected, is short of twenty; but in the thirty-two years of her independence one hundred of her native sons have acquired that distinction. There was no grammar school in South Carolina prior to 1730, except the free school in Charleston: from 1730 to 1776 there were no more than four or five, and all in or near Charleston. Since the revolution there are, from information, about thirty and they are daily increasing and extending into the remotest extremities of the state."

DR. MANIGAULT has kindly furnished me a list of American students at the London law schools in the last century published in the English papers and copied in the Charleston News and Courier in January 1870. The period is from 1759 to 1786, a quarter of a century just before and during the revolution. It shows better than anything else how fashionable it was in the colonies to send the sons to England for their education. The numbers are as follows:

Middle Temple, total	77;	South Carolina	39.
Inner Temple,	" 24;	"	2.
Lincolns Inn	" 15;	"	7.
Total	116		48

Total of French extraction from South Carolina 12; that is,

just one fourth of the whole number sent. Thus, South Carolina sent a little more than 41 per cent of the whole number, of which one fourth were of French extraction. The other Huguenots were educated in the (English) schools of the province; for at this period none are known to have gone to France, and no French schools were ever supported.* After the revolution, in the beginning of this century, it became somewhat fashionable to go to France for an education, but by that time all knowledge of French (except that learned at the school) had disappeared. The continuity of the mother-tongue had been broken with the first emigration to this country and could never be resumed again.

Schools, however, are not the only means of an education, especially of a literary character. Libraries and books perform an important part in the education of a community and the early settlers were alive to this important fact. One of the early writers (cf. CARROLL'S 'Collections,' i., p. 507) informs us "that the people stand not only much indebted to an ingenious book-seller, who introduced many of the most distinguished authors among them, but several of the most respectful citizens, also, united and formed a society for the promotion of literature, having obtained a charter of incorporation for that purpose. All the new publications in London, and many of the most valuable books, both ancient and modern, have been imported for the use of this society. Their design was not confined to the present generation, but extended to posterity, having the institution of a college in view, so soon as the funds of the society should admit it. Newspapers were also printed for supplying the province with the freshest and most useful intelligence of all that passed in the political and commercial world" (1765). RAMSAY adds something of interest on this subject in the second volume of his 'History of South Carolina,' p. 352: "The Settlement of Carolina was nearly coeval with the institution of the Royal Society of London, and began at a time when Addison, Boyle, Boerhaave, Barrow, Fenelon, Hale, Locke, Milton, Newton, Rollin, Sydney, Sydenham, Sloan, Tillotson, Watts, and many sons of intellect were living and enlightening the world with the beams of knowledge. Though few if any of the early settlers of the province were learned men, yet they brought with them general ideas of European literature.

*There were private French Boarding and Day Schools and ever have been, but these were for the upper classes. In the public school system no provision was made for French.

The subsequent improvements in the old world were soon transmitted to the new, and by the noble art of printing extensively diffused." In the year 1700 a law passed "for securing the provincial library of Charleston."

The Church of England also aided in the promotion of education by establishing libraries throughout the state. "Commissioner Bray and his associates founded several Provincial and Parochial Libraries; and the venerable society for the propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts sent to every Parish Church in the Colonies, a library for the use of the ministry.

The advantage resulting from Parochial Libraries would not be confined to the Clergy, but would extend equally to the people."

It will be seen from the above that the relations between the province of South Carolina and the mother-country were far more intimate than those of the other provinces. The children, as a rule, spent years in England while pursuing their studies; the Church established by the Proprietors and people was under the Bishop of London, and the ministers came from England; libraries were founded by the church and by private enterprise, and the favorite books were those imported from England. We, however, see no signs of an early provincial literature comparable with that of New England. The people lived as in England, thought as in England, were thoroughly English in every respect. But the French element had an influence upon the education and manners of the province. Noted for their sobriety and orderly habits, for their industry and application to their pursuits, for their love of religious freedom and tolerance in general, for their intellectual superiority over their countrymen of the Catholic faith, they brought with them very desirable qualities for the upbuilding of the new state. Their influence is seen in the industrial progress of the state, in the formation and development of the new government, in the social life of the people. Their influence on the schools, the formation of libraries, the circulation of books, the literary development of the young state must have been equally felt and equally beneficial, whether we can trace that influence as clearly and as distinctly as in the political, industrial and social history of the state. The histories are silent on the subject of Huguenot schools, libraries, books and intellectual pursuits and accomplishments, so that we are forced to rely on tradition and information gathered from older people and accounts of the Huguenots in

other parts of the world. From these sources we can collect information enough to lead us to conclude that they were active in developing the school system of their chosen state and fostered its literary growth. But they fostered the English language and discarded their own as soon as possible; however, it could not disappear without leaving some sign of its former presence, though the difficulty of tracing back the vestiges of that presence will be very great.

The influence of the Huguenot element upon the pronunciation of Charleston can be detected in two ways. In the first place a careful comparison of the Huguenot proper names and their present pronunciation with their earlier pronunciation, as near as that can be determined after so long a time, will show the mutual influence of the Huguenot and English pronunciations upon each other. Secondly, a careful comparison of the vowel and consonant sounds of the French and English of that early period and a careful investigation of the historical development of the same, will show a like mutual influence upon the final pronunciation of Charleston. Early documents of both languages, with the approximate pronunciation in each case, must form the basis of this investigation. Here we shall give only the French documents, reserving the early English for a revision of our former article.

Fortunately there exists a list of the Huguenot names drawn up in the year 1697 (or thereabout) from which we shall take such names for our comparison as are still in existence. The following list comprises enough for our present purpose:

NAME.	APPROX. EAR. FR. PR.	PRESENT PRON.	MODIFICATIONS.
Bacot ¹	Bako (or ò)	Bakot	
Benoist	Bentie?		Now Bennet?
Benoit	As above		As above
Bonneau	Bono (or eò?) ²	Bono	
Bonell	Bonel	Bonel	Bónel
Bonetheu	Boneteu	Bónepo	
Bounetheau	Boneto (or eò?)	As above	
Bordeau	Bordo (or eò?)	Bordo	

¹ The accent is the same as in French unless otherwise indicated. SWERT'S Revised Romic is used.

² THUROT (ii, p. 749) says "Dans la terminaison *eau* l's féminin se fit entendre longtemps, mais on n'entendait plus que *o* dans la plupart des mots." But the pronunciation of *Beaufort* and *Beaufain* (Beufort, Beufain) would lead to the inference that *-eau* was pronounced (eò) by the French Huguenots who settled here.

NAME.	APPROX. EAR. FR. PR.	PRESENT PRON.	MODIFICATIONS.
Boyd	Boid	Boid	
Carriere	Karie (r)	Karir	
Carrere	Karer	As above	Karer?
Collin	Kolaeq	Kolins	
Collins	As above	As above	
Cordes	Kord	Kords	
Couturier	Kutyrie (r)	Kutrîr	
Couterier	Kuterie (r)	As above	
De Hay (s)	Dëai?	Dîheiz	
De Leiselin	Dëleizaeq	Dêléslin?	
De Saussure	Dësosyr	Dësasur	Desasor (vul.)
Deveaux	Dëvo (or eð?)	Dëvo	Dîvo
Douxaint	Dusaeq	Diuzsentz	Daksent (a=u in <i>but</i>)
Dubois	Dybte?	Diu ² boz	
Dubosc (or q)	Dybosc?	Diu ² boz	Dibask (a=u in <i>but</i>)
Dubose	Dyboz	As above	
Dupont	Dypoq	Diupont	
Dupree	Dypre	Diupri	Diupre
Dutarque	Dytark	Diutart	
Gabriel (le)	Gabriel (l)	Gebriel	
Gaillard	Gaijar	Geljard	
Gendron	Zhaqdroq	Dzhéndan	Zhaqdroq
Girardeau	Zhirardo (or eð?)	Dzherido	Zherádo (La.)
Gourdin (ain)	Gurdaeq	Gurdain	Gridain? (vul.)
Guerard	Gerar	Gerard	Gered, Geret
Guirri (Guerry)	Geri	Geri	
Horry	Hori	Ori	Hori?
Huger	Hyzhe (r)	Judzhi	
La Roche	La Rosh	Larotsh	
Laurens	Lœraq	Lœrens	
Legaré	Legare	Legri	
Manigault	Manigo	Manigo	
Marie	Mari	Mári (Fr.)	
Marion	Marioq	Márian	Mérian
Mellichamp	Melishaq	Melishamp	
Mercier	Mersie (r)	Märsir (ä = i in sir)	Märsr (ä=i in <i>Sir</i>)
Mouzon	Muzoq	Miu ² znn	
Neufville	Nevil	Nevîl	
Normand	Norma ² q	Nórmand	
Peronneau	Perono (or eð?)	Pérono	
Pereneau	Pereno (or eð?)	As above	
Peyre	Perr	Per	
Prifoleau	Priolo (or eð?)	Prélo	Prélr? (vul.)
Poinset (te)	Poeaqset	Poinset	
Porcher	Porshe (r)	Porshe	
Postell	Postel	Postel	
Poyas	Ptëya?	Pa ² os	
Ravenel	Ravenel	Ravenel	Ravnel
St. Julien	Saeqzhyliaq	Sînt dji ² slan	
Simons	Simoq	Sîmans	
Tousiger	Tusizhe (r)	Túsîdjer	Tatshi? (a=u in <i>but</i>)
Trezevant	Trezevaq	Trézvant	

* THUROR (II, p. 749). Cf. note 2 p. 227.

3 The sign (u²) represents the sound (u) accompanied by a slight vanish.

It will be seen that with few exceptions the proper names have retained their French forms, though the pronunciation has been modified in many cases by time and contact with the English. They are still, however, to all intents and purposes French. Here we shall call attention to only a few peculiarities, as the influence of the French vowels and consonants will best be considered after the French extracts from the public documents. The place of the French accent is occasionally changed; compare Bónetheau (Fr. Bonethéau), Cólins (Fr. Collins), Dé Saussure (Fr. De Saussúre), Gíardeau (Fr. Girardéau), Márie (Fr. Marié), Mellichamp (Fr. Mellichámp), Príoleau (Fr. Prio-léau), Póyas (Fr. Poyás), Símons (Fr. Simóns), Trézevant (Fr. Trezevánt). In all, less than a dozen out of over sixty—a very small proportion. The changes in the vowels and consonants have not been so great as we might have expected when we consider the influence brought to bear on them. A few transformations surprise us. Compare Couturier (Kutrír), De Saus-sure (Désosur), Douxsaint (Diu^ssent, or Dáksent), Gourdin (Gurdain), Huger (Judzhi), Legaré (Legri), Poyas (Páijos).

The French documents consist of wills and contracts found in the city archives. They all belong to the last decade of the fifteenth century and the first decade of the nineteenth and bear witness of having been written by the persons themselves. There are others which seem to have been written by lawyers, but it was deemed best to use those drawn up by the persons themselves, as containing the language of the people.

Will of Pierre Bertrand, dated the 8th of Sept., 1692:

Au Nom De Dieu

Moy Pierre Bertrand natíue de St Martin en L'isle de Ré au Roy-aume de France agé de uingt quatre ans ou enuiron Estant au Lit malade—Mais Sin Desprit et dentendement et Sachant quil ny a rien plus certain que La Mort Je me suis resolu a faire mon testament et dernier uollanté Comme il sensuít

Premièremént Je remercie dieu de mauior fait naitre dans la uerit-able religione Reformée et Luy demande pardon de tous mes peches au non et par le merítte de la mort et passion et resurection de Nos-tre Seigneur, Jesus christ le priant de Nentrer pas en conte Ny en Jugement avecq moy mais me faire grace et Misericorde et me faire part de son paradis.

Will of Pierre Perdriau, dated Nov. 26th, 1692:

Au Nom du pere, du fils, et du St Esprit, Amen.

Jay Pierre Perdriau natif de la Rochelle au royaume de France, 'tant de present en Caroline détenu au lit de maladie depuis 6 ou 7 jours; mais par la grace de Dieu sain desprit, memoire, jugement et entendement et considerant quil ny a rien de plus certain que la

mort ny de plus incertain que l'heure dycelle ne voullant decedder intestat ny sans auoir fait mettre ma derniere volonte par écrit, jay fait écrire mon present testament et ordonnance de derniere volonte sans y auoir été induit, forcé, ny contraint par qui que se soit comme sensuit.

Will of Arnaud Brunau, dated Dec. 30th, 1692:

Je Arnaud Brunau Escuyer S. de la Chabociere étant de present en Caroline en l'amerique en nostre habitation de Ouanthee proche Jémston sur la riuere de Santi auquel lieu d'ouentheé nous nous sommes establis Paul Bruneau Esquyer Sieur de Riuedoux mon fils et Henry Bruneau mon petit fils et moy et ou depuis plus de quatre ans nous faisons nostre residence sachant quil nous faut tous mourir et quil nest rien de si certain que l'heure de la mort, me trouuant dautant plus obligé a disposer de mes affaires quil y a trois ans ou enuiron que le fus attaqué dun catherre dont je pensé mourir et qui ma laissé un grand engourdissement sur toute la partie gauche de mon corps qui men a fort afoibly tous les membres me trouuant pourtant graces a dieu dans une assez bonne disposition de mon corps et teint de mon Esprit.

Agreement between Pierre Robert and son (Swiss), dated Jan. 25th, 1701.

Sorte que chacun de nous separément et sans le consentement de l'autre, ne pourra vendre ny engager sa part des terres, ny des Esclaves, mais nous pourrons d'un consentement mutuel, lorsque nous jurerons à propos, vendre conjointement mon dit fils et moy, ou le dit fonds de terre ou les Esclaves, ou partie d'eux.

In discussing the influence of the French element upon the English pronunciation of Charleston we must remember that the Huguenots left France at the period when the fluctuations between the different vowels (*a* and *e*, *o* and *ou*, *eu* and *ou*, *o* and *e*) had nearly ceased. There were at that time three distinct pronunciations: the pure pronunciation of the cultured people and scholars, in a certain measure theoretical; both the second and third belong to the so-called vulgar language; the second was that used in reading poetry and in public discourses, and the third was the every-day language of the common people. The Huguenots belonged to the artisan class and must have brought with them to South Carolina the second and third grades. Their ministers and the educated spoke in all probability the more cultured of these; that is, the second, or that used in poetry and public discourses.—A short summary of these sounds will form a basis for our investigation; we shall treat the sounds here in the same order (that is, *i*, *e*, *a*, *A*, *o*, *u*, *ö*, *ü*) as in our former article (of 'Trans. Mod. Lang. Ass.,' vol iii., p. 88).

The pronunciation of the vowels (*i*) is very narrow. It exchanges with (*e*), but in the cultured language, however, there was no exchange.—Tonic *e*, whatever its origin, in the language

of the cultured class as well as of the vulgar, was pronounced wide, even very wide, consequently near *a*, whenever it was followed by a consonant pronounced in the same syllable. "The German *ɛ* in *der*, would be the back-upper, and probably also the English *a* of *dare*, the French *ɛ* of *père*, *aime*, the front-lower. The *ɛ* of the sixteenth century was likewise the lower" (cf. LANG, 'Der vocalische Lautstand,' p. 20). But words in *pere*, especially *père*, *mère*, *frère*, and words in *-ege*; as, *collège*, *privilege*, continued to be pronounced with an *é-fermé*, that is, narrow.

The *a* had its two sounds of wide *a* (*patte*, *mal*) and narrow *a* (*pâte*, *mâle*). Even the narrow (grave THUROT calls it) retained quite a clear (high) sound and was different from the darker (deep) German *a*. Generally it was very wide.

The digraph *au* probably had the sound of *ɔ*, and may have fluctuated as the English *gaunt*, etc. It exchanges with *o* (*ɔ* wide? Comp. *pauvre* below), also with *a*.

There were two *o*-sounds, wide and narrow: *ɔ*, *o*.

The *u*-sound (*ou*) was simple *u* and no longer a diphthong, but frequently exchanged with *o*; as, *chose* or *chouse*, etc.

We need mention only one peculiarity of the consonants, the palatalization of *c* and *g* before *i*, *e*, *eu* (see below).

It is always a difficult question to attempt to trace the mutual influence which two languages may have exerted upon each other, as it is often uncertain just what the native development would have been without the aid of foreign influence. This is especially true of sounds. Similar causes may have produced similar effects independently in each language; or mutual influence, arising from the contact of the sounds of each, especially if the two languages belong to different branches, as the French and the English. The influence of the former upon the development of the vowel system of the latter, has been very great, though difficult to analyse, as the two streams flowed together at such an early date that it would now be impossible to say in most instances whether Romance or Teutonic influences had been most active in producing certain changes. Still much light might be thrown on the subject by a thorough investigation of the mutual influence of the two elements upon each other.

It is customary to ascribe Romance influence to the introduction of Romance words at four various periods: 1. the occupation of Britain by the Romans; 2. the conversion of England to the Christian Religion; 3. the Norman Conquest; 4. the Revival

of Learning. The real sway of the French tongue, during which it exerted its greatest influence upon the language, forms, according to excellent authority, two periods: the first comprises the time of the Norman Conquest, when French was really at home in England, to the loss of Normandy; the second, when the French was a foreign language in England, extends from the loss of Normandy to the end of the reign of Edward III. The first is often called the Norman, the second the French, period. But we are far from knowing at the present date the exact truth in regard to the mixture and development of the two languages. The frequent and intimate intercourse of the two nations has led to a peculiar development of the English vowel system and to irregular changes in English pronunciation. It is, therefore, doubly difficult to trace out the Huguenot influence upon the pronunciation of Charleston. In the first place, we have the uninterrupted flow for centuries of Romance elements into England. Changes in certain directions appeared in England. The language was transplanted here during the process of change and either became permanent, or, from various influences, was again subject to change. The French Huguenot element brought with it the same influences which had modified the English in England. To which influence, if to either, is the present pronunciation of Charleston due? It is not always possible to tell. We know approximately the period and can follow up the changes from that time to this. Wherever the pronunciation of Charleston shows peculiarities, we must either trace them back to the English of the time of the first settlement here, or account for them from outside influence. If we find similarities between the present pronunciation of Charleston and the Huguenot pronunciation of the time of their first settlement here, it will be *prima-facie* evidence of influence, though not positive evidence; for the development of sounds is often such as to defy explanation by any known laws. Bearing this in mind, let us examine the pronunciation of Charleston in order to discover whether the Huguenot element has had any influence upon it.

In our comments on the vowel *i* (ibid. 88) we mentioned the exchange of *i* for *e* in *if* (in Charleston *ef*). The proper name *Prioleau* is here commonly pronounced *Prelo*. In the sixteenth century these vowels were interchangeable in France and this phenomenon did not disappear altogether in the seventeenth century. However, it is not an uncommon phenomenon as ELLIS remarks (ibid. 99). The change here is probably

due to that tendency in the Charleston pronunciation to retain the older English pronunciation, though the influence of the French may have helped to strengthen that tendency.

The peculiar pronunciation of words like *there*, *tare*, *pare*, etc. (p. 88) corresponds quite well to that of the French of the sixteenth century (see above). THUROT (vol. ii, p. 748) remarks that in the seventeenth century words in *-ere*, especially *père*, *mère*, *frère*, and words in *-ege*; as, *collège*, *privilège*, continued to be pronounced with *e-fermé*. But in the last years of the seventeenth and the first years of the eighteenth centuries this *ê* of *père*, *mère*, *frère*, *collège*, *privilège*, became open (è) as at present. The sound which both the English and Huguenots brought with them was nearly alike, so that the mutual influence of the two languages (the surroundings of the vowel being nearly the same) would tend to retain the sound in the present pronunciation. The sound of *a* is difficult to describe. The Italian *a* sounds quite different from the Portuguese, French, English, or German *a*. What is the peculiar shade in each of these sounds? The Danish and English are inclined to the clear (higher) sound (cf. STORM, 'Eng. Philol.,' p. 34ff.), the German to the deeper sound. STORM (ibid.) regards the French *â* in *lâche*, *pâte* (low-back) as the normal *a*. But this *â* is rather the exception in France; the short, clear French *a* (a) is the rule. The Scotch *a* in *father* comes near the French *â* in *pâte*, but is probably less deep (cf. STORM, ibid.), while the English *a* in *father* (mid-back) approaches the palatal sound (æ). SWEET ('Hist. of Engl. Sounds,' p. 210) says the French *a* of the sixteenth century points to a sound between Swedish *mat* and Eng. *father* on the one side, and Eng. *man* on the other; that is, to Dan. *Mane*, or, more probably, to Eng. *man*, a sound which was fully established in the next century. In Charleston the tendency is rather to this last sound; as in *man*, *cat*, *sad*. No Charlestonian would make the mistake indicated by THACKERAY ('Miscell.' i, 58) in his *nong-long-paw* (n'en tends pas), but would say *nang-tung-pæ* (*a* as in *man*). Perhaps the tendency to this clearer sound may be in a measure due to the influence of this (higher) French sound brought over by the Huguenots; it may have strengthened a tendency already existing.

The ɔ (A or a°) -sound is common enough in Charleston but has never affected words like *gaunt*, *haunt*, *jaunt*, *daunt*, *avaunt*, *aunt*, *vaunt*, *haunch*, *launch*, *pauch*, *staunch*, etc., (cf. *grange*,

strange, ample, grant, chant, which were spelled with an *u* in M. E. and pronounced like those just given). According to TEN BRINK ('Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst, p. 50) this *au* (*ā*) "denotes the nasalized *ā*, or better the sound which represents in M. E. the Romance nasal *a*. It may have been a darker *a*, as the writing *au*, often interchanging with *a*, seems to indicate. This sound is inseparable from lengthening (Dehnung), since *au* never appears before *nk*, as in *frank*. It has its place before *mb, ng, nc, nt*." It is an evident attempt to represent the nasal pronunciation of the Anglonorman nasal vowel and VON JAGEMANN ('Trans. of Amer. Philol. Ass.,' vol. xv, p. 83) thinks that "this representation (by *au*) gives us a clue to the phonetic nature of the nasalization: *aun* must have been pronounced somewhat like the Portuguese *ão*, which is an *a*-sound followed by a nasal, and not like the French *an*, which is an *a*-sound itself nasalized. In later English the original sound gradually wore down to a simple long *a*, as in Mod. E. *naunt*." These words had the *ɔ*-sound in England in the seventeenth century, but had not altogether discarded the (*a*)-sound. The clearer (*a*) changed to *æ* (as in *man*), but it is long in Charleston.

Turning to the French of the sixteenth century we find (THUROT, i, p. 425) that the pronunciation of *au* long fluctuated between *ao* (both vowels pronounced) and long *o* (mid-back-n. r.), which latter finally prevailed. However, the ancient pronunciation (ibid., 429) of the diphthong *au* existed in Normandy and the south. According to BEZA (1534) the Normans still pronounced distinctly the *a* and the *o* in one and the same syllable, *autant*, as if it were *aotant* (cf. HINDRET, who makes them say *fra-oude* for *fraude*, *ca-ouse* for *cause*, *cha-oud* for *chaud*). But this *au* interchanged in Frenoh with *o* (mid-mixed-w.-r.?) and *a* in some words. We find *pauvre*, *povre* and *pouvre*, but see later. Perhaps the word *balm* and those mentioned on p. 91, ibid., may be in part explained through Huguenot influence. On p. 433, vol. i, THUROT gives *baulsme*, *bame*, *ambamès*, *baisme*, *embasmer*, *embasme*, *baume*, *embaume*, *basme*, *baulme*, etc. The forms *bamo*, *ambamès*, *embasmer*, *embasme*, *basme*, indicate an *a*-sound as one pronunciation of these words. From what has already been said of the French *à* of this period (sixteenth century), we can assume the lighter *a*-sound (nearly as in *man*). The M. E. form is *baume*, or *barome* (CHAUCER), *baum*, *bame*, *basme*, *balsme*. The form *bame* is in 'Ancien

Riwe,' p. 104. *Psalm* has the same history. THUROT i, page 440, gives *psalme*, *psealme*, *pseaulme*, *sêaumes*; Anglo-Saxon has *sealm* and the M. E. probably fluctuated like *balm*, though I have no sources to look it up. The fluctuations were the same in both languages and they undoubtedly mutually influenced each other. Both sounds (ɔ, a) were probably brought over from England. But the lighter *a* of the French must have contributed to the establishment of *æ* (long sound of *a* in *man*) in all these words in Charleston. In modern French this sound has become *o*; in English, it has divided into *o*; *a*, and *æ*, as we have already seen.

On p. 92, *ibid.*, it is stated that "the word *poor* sometimes received the sound (poor) instead of (puur)." In the sixteenth century the French shows a variety of spellings: *povre*, *pauvre*, *pouvre*, *paouvre*, *poure*, *pauvre* (cf. THUROT, i., p. 430). Inasmuch as *au* exchanges with *o*, and *a*, in some words, and perhaps with *ou*, *u*, *eu* in a few others, we may infer from the various spellings of *pauvre* that usage was divided between *ao* (ao), *a-on* (au), *o* (ò?), and *ou* (u). In CHAUCER, we find *povre* and *poure* (not in rhyme); perhaps from *povre* (pòvr), the transitional form of O. Fr. *povre* (cf. above). The most that can be said is, that this sound must have been brought over from England and was probably prevalent there in the sixteenth century (cf. ELLIS, 97). It is also quite probable that the French brought over this same pronunciation of (pòvr). Compare the present pronunciation by some of the French creoles of Louisiana; *chose* (shòz), *rose* (ròz), *pauvre* (pòvr). The preservation, of this occasional pronunciation (pòðr) until now, is possibly due to Huguenot influence and partly to the conservative spirit of Charleston.

Exception has been taken to the pronunciation I have indicated (p. 93) for *book*. There the statement was made, that "that shade of the *u*-sound heard in *put*, *book*, *pull*, etc., has passed entirely over to its sound in *but*; hence the good majority of Charlestonians pronounce these words pʊt, etc., or is it, perhaps, the close Scotch *u* in *come*, *up*, SWEET's low-back-narrow?" The statement is in the main right, though the full *but*-sound is confined to the lower classes. The elegant pronunciation has stopped a shade short of *but*, as we shall presently see.

Let us begin with the vowel sound heard in *but*; SWEET calls it mid-back-narrow and SIEVERS describes it as "differing from the so-called pure Italian *a* and the *a* of the German stage only

by stronger arching of the back tongue toward the soft palate." It is between Italian *a* in *cane* and French *eu* in *leur* (cf. TRAUTMANN, p. 160, 40); ELLIS calls it an unrounded *leur*. This sound is peculiar to the English and is a younger (though according to HOLTHAUS quite old) acquisition first mentioned by WALLIS (1653), though it must be older than that. "The first mediate testimony of its appearance, or better, its rise, is found in the substitution of *o* in *sone*, *onder*, *wonie*, *wolf*, etc., for *sune*, *under*, *wunie*, *wulf*, etc., in the MSS. of the 13th century. To all appearances the projection of the lips in uttering the *u*-sound was omitted, so that SWEET's high-back-narrow arose (Gaelic *laogh*); this became later the present *but*-sound" (TRAUTMANN, p. 164). ELLIS (175) calls it "a modern encroachment." He adds that "in general the long Saxon (*oo*), which first became (*uu*) and then fell to (*u*), or (*u*), has resisted the further change into (*ə*)." Generally this sound reverts back to the radical Anglo-Saxon *u* and the change from *u* to *o* explains in a certain measure the present sound of this *u* approaching *o*. It is the *u* deprived of its labial character, but at the same time accompanied by the enlargement of the angle of the jaws, which latter act is immediately connected with the sinking of the tongue, or in other words (*u*) is high-back-n.-r. and (*a*) is mid-back-n. If TRAUTMANN's theory be accepted (*Anglia* iv, 60 ff.; also i, 588-9), then there is a certain inner relation between the series of sounds to which the *u* in *but* belongs and the series *ū*, *ō*, *ō̃*; the latter he describes as arising when we join the lip-position of *u*, *ū*, *ō* to the tongue-position of *i*, *ē*, *ē̃*. We have already seen that the *u* in *but* is the unrounded *leur*, so that there seems at all events to be a certain relation both of articulation and sound existing between these sounds.

If we revert to PALSGRAVE's pronunciation, we shall find that his *o* in *gost*, *nose*, *boke*, does not mean the French unaccented *e*-feminine, but rather the *o* in *tonge*, *soche* (*suche*), *moche*, etc., therefore represents a sound between the *u* in *but* and the sound of the Gaelic *laogh* (SWEET's high-back-narrow Λ ; cf. HOLTHAUS, *Anglia*, viii, 140). SWEET's second Word-list ('Hist. of Sounds,' 1888, p. 373f) proves that out of one hundred and forty words with the modern sound of *u* in *but*, seventy-five are from old *u*, seventeen are from old *ū*, sixteen from old *ō*, eleven from old *j*, six from old *ō̃*, four from old *ā*, and the rest scattering between *ſ*, *æ*, *ey*, *ē*, *ē̃*, *i*, *eo*, *ā*. Thus, over one half are reflections of words in *u*. The question naturally arises why the

u-sound was abandoned and the *but*-sound received into its place, and through what sound did it pass in its transition from (u) to (a). The age of the *u*-sound is also a question of interest. We will begin with the *u*-sound.

The normal *u*-sound is not a favorite in modern English. In uttering it, the lips are less protruded than in German and the sound is less rounded. There is also a broadening of the body of the tongue which hinders the formation of the reed-shaped opening of the mouth necessary for producing an intensive normal (u); the massing of the tongue in the opening at the back palate checks the formation of the most intensive (i) possible. This explains in a measure the lack of the pure normal (u)- and (i)-sounds in English. The exchange of *u* and *o* in the transition period from Old to Middle English indicates that the real sound was midway between (*o*) and (*ɔ*); hence TRAUTMANN'S (*φ*), a tolerably dull vowel between the *u* in *but* and the *laogh*; that is, vacillating between both. Both incline to the *ü*- and *ö*-sounds, though more unrounded; *o* was between the German (back) *a* in *Vater* and the open *ö*-sound, that is, already near the *u* in *but*.—*u* was discarding the rounding of the lips, that is, changing to *laogh*. HOLTHAUS (*ibid.*, 141) conjectures that this process began in the twelfth century. The passage was then from (u), high-back-narrow-round, through (ü, as in Norweg. *hus*) to (a) mid-back-narrow; therefore a passage from the articulation farthest back to one uniting the lip-protruding (rounding) of *u* and *o* to the tongue-articulations of the *e*- and *i*-sounds and bearing a close relation to the *ü*- and *ö*-sounds. Any obstruction in producing the *u* which should tend to change the place of the articulation farther lingual, would account for the transition. The Scandinavian *u* lies between (u) and (y), the Swedish nearer (y) than the Norwegian; and essentially identical or at least similar to Fr. *u* in *lui* (*cf.* STORM, 69). But there is also something of the *o*-element in the sound, so that there must have been an influence at work which tended to produce this effect. The *ö*-sound, to which our *but*-series inclines has in general the tongue-position of the *e*- and the lip-position of the *o*-sounds. In other words, there has been a gradual approach from the lowest towards the highest vowel and at the same time an approach of the *o*- and *i*-positions.

Again we ask what occasioned this change? May it not be consonant influence? The surrounding consonants seem to have played some part in the sound-change. The *n* follows oftener

than any other letter, fifty times; *s* twenty-one, *m* fourteen, *t* ten, *f* eight, *c* (or *k*) eight, *d* six, *p* six, *b* and *r* five, and the rest are scattering between *l*, *h*, *g* (afterwards *tch* or *f*). The consonants preceding the vowel are more varied: *t* (simply or in combinations) occurs fifteen times, *r* (simply or in combinations) fourteen, *s* eleven, *m* ten, *b* nine, *h* nine, *d* seven, *c* six, *n* five, *sh* five, *l* five, *st* four, and other consonants less frequently; we find besides *th*, *w*, *sw*, *f*, *g*, *y*, *p*. Six times we have an initial vowel. According to the above, *n* follows the vowel fifty times, and precedes five; *s* follows twenty-one, precedes eleven; *m* follows fourteen, precedes ten; *t* follows ten, precedes nine; *f* follows eight, precedes but once; *c* (or *k*) follows eight, precedes six; *d* follows six, precedes seven; *b* follows five, precedes nine; *r* follows five, precedes fourteen; *l* follows three, precedes fifteen; *h* follows two, precedes nine; *sh* follows three, precedes five; *p* follows six, precedes four.

It is admitted that those consonants which have a relationship of articulation with certain vowels modify the vowel sound. In estimating the effect produced upon the vowel, both the post- and pre-consonants must be considered. The most prominent post-consonants are *n*, *s*, *m*, *t*, *f*, *c* (*k*), *d*, *p*, etc., or those inclined to coronal and dorsal (labial) articulation. The most prominent pre-consonants are *s*, *m*, *b*, *d*, *t*, *h*, *r*, *sh*, etc., partly inclining to coronal and partly to dorsal and labial articulation.

Some of the most common words are *son*, *ton*, *won*, *come*, *such*, *honey*, *love*, *tongue*, etc. The Anglo-Saxon forms are *sunu*, *tunne*, *gewunnen*, *cuman*, *sunken*, *hunig*, *tunge*, *lufian*, etc. Most of the consonants have a strong inclination to dorsal (coronal) or labial (labio-dental and bilabial) articulation. Both labial and dorsal consonants readily assume the distinctive character of the accompanying vowel and are, at the same time, liable to color or obscure it. That is, the vowel easily loses its distinctive character and assumes the nature of a "mixed vowel." The "mixed vowel," which we know was between *u* and *o*, since these characters exchanged, stands in the good majority of cases (that is, in words now having the sound of *u* in *but*) between consonants with a dorsal element in their articulation, or labial and dorsal, and hence become subject to their influence. This obscuration is more liable to take place in unaccented syllables where the vowel is surrounded by consonants with dorsal or labial articulation, but even accented vowels are also obscured. It has already been observed (*Anglia* vii, 218) that the labials

m, *f*(*v*); change Anglo-Saxon *ū* from (au) to (a); compare *scām*, *scum*, *pāma*, *thumb*, *dāse*, *dove*, etc.

As we see, these are the vary changes which we have considered necessary to produce our (a)-sound when starting from *au*, *u*, or *o*. Most of these consonants have a dorsal element and their peculiar English pronunciation intensifies their effect. For instance, *n*, *m* are post-coronal-alveolar and at the same time antedental-palatal, classed under supradental (that is, coronal-alveolar, or dorsal-alveolar) by SIEVERS; *s*, *z*, (*sh*?) are post-coronal-alveolar; *t*, *d*, *p* are the same as *n*, *m*, that is, postdental or interdental (coronal articulation); *g*, *k*, are however formed on the middle of the soft palate, though *k*² (*g*²) are farther forward, perhaps guttural-dorsal; *f* and *w* are labiodentals and *b*, *p*, *m* are bilabials; the English *l* is alveolar and the *r* is supradental. The influence of most of these consonants, if exerted at all, would be to raise the *u* towards the *o*-position and at the same time to change it more to the *i*-position. They probably exerted such an influence, though it is difficult to say positively just what it was, or whether other unknown influences were not also at work. Scandinavian influence of *u* in *hus* may have helped. It is also probable that the O. E. *ū* of the twelfth century "was spoken with deeper tongue-position, perhaps = *ö* (*schön*, *eux*), at the same time the original *ū* unrounded to (Λ, as in *laogh*), or already to *φ* "(HOLTHAUS, *Anglia*, viii, 141). "It is difficult to say," he continues p. 143, "when long *o* assumed the sound *φ* (*ψ*) in certain words. Some words had early lost their length and turned immediately with short *o* to *ψ*, and others may have entered upon this way by analogy, or through some other influences."

There are sixteen examples of long *o* becoming (a): *mōther*, *hrōthar*, *tōh* (*tough*), *glōf* (*glove*), *mōnath*, *gūme* (*gum*), *rōthar*, (*rudder*), *flōd*, *blōd*, *dōm*, *ōthar*, *mōste* (but cf. *muste*), *genōh* (*enough*), *wudurōfe* (*woodruff*), *gedōn* (*done*), *mōnandaeg* (*monday*). The consonant-complex here is the same as above and it only needed a shortening of the vowel to produce the same result. HOLTHAUS' conjecture is probably the correct one, as we find the same shortening of a long vowel in *book*, *look*, *foot*, etc.

The question now arises whether the French exerted any influence on the production of this (a)-sound. ELLIS and SWEET say yes, but others are inclined to disbelieve it. The tendency of the English, as we have already mentioned, is to the deeper, duller, fuller sounds, due to the difference in

composition and position of the mouth and throat. SIEVERS (see above) justly remarks that the character of the sounds of the English vocalism rests essentially on the slight participation of the lips in their formation. The tip of the tongue inclines away from the lower front teeth upward, tendencies which have led to divergencies in the final result of this movement from *u* and *o* towards *ü* and *ö*.

The Latin *o* and *u* passed into French *o*-fermé. But in the accented and free syllable this sound passed into French *eu*; as, *HÖRAM* *heure*, *SÖLUM* *seul*. "The *o* of *amör*, *raison* was probably in its origin a diphthong holding a position midway between *o* and *ou* and rhyming neither with *u* coming from Latin *ü*, nor with *o* coming from Latin *o* or *au*. Very early this *o* became *eu*, *calorem* gave *chaleur*; *saporem*, *savoir*; *nodum*, *noeud*" (BARTSCH, 'Langue et Littérature Françaises,' p. 21). The development of the two sounds (French *eu* and English *u* in *but*) has a certain similarity and a certain disparity. The deeper sounds of the English may have become clearer than they otherwise would have been, had it not been for the contact with the French. But it turned to the unrounded (a), while the French has the rounded *eu* (*leur*). The two languages may have met when the development of this sound in both was nearly at the same stage.

Even this theory would seem to contradict itself, as the modern French *eu* comes mostly from the long or short Latin *o* (DIEZ, pp. 132, 133, 159; cf. THUROT i, p. 449 ff. for other sources) and none of these words which have developed the *eu* in modern French have the (a) in English (but compare later on for O. French). The Romance words with the (a)-sound in modern English have various sounds in modern French, but never *eu*. A careful comparison of the vocabularies of the two languages with a view to the classification of the sources of the various sounds which have produced (a) in modern English, showing their Latin origin and the French sounds now represented, is very desirable, but would lead me too far from my present subject. In lieu of this, I have carefully compared the vocabulary added to DIETRICH BEHRENS' "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Französischen Sprache in England," with the following results: The words there having the sound of (a) in modern English represent five modern French sounds: 1. mod. Fr. *u* (y) as in *adjudge*, *buffet* (?), *judge*, *judgment*, *justice*, *justify*, *multiply*, *publish*, *punish*, *supply*, *suppress*, *suspect*; 2. *ou* (u), as *butcher* (?), *butler*, *color*, *couple*, *coverlet*, *covet*, *culvert*, *double*,

glutton, *govern*, *governor*, *rut*, *sudden*, *suffer*, *supper*, *supple*, *sustenance*, *touch*, *truss*; 3. *on* (oq), as *assumption*, *comfort* (verb, O. Fr. *covoiter*, mod Fr. *convoiter*), *discomfit*, *juggler*, *number*, *plunge*, *trump*; 4. *o* (ò), as *brush*, *constable*, *nun*, *unnery*, *sovereign*, *sum*; 5. *e-feminine* (ɔ) in the one word *succor*.

These same words represent seven different Latin sounds, two O. Fr. words, and three German words. Latin long *ū* is represented by *adjudge*, *judge*, *judgment* (root *JŪDIC-*), *glutton* (*GLŪTO*), *punish* (*PŪNIRE*), *govern* (*GŪBERNARE*), *butler* (Low Latin *BŪTICULA*); Latin short *ū* furnishes *covel* (root is *CŪPIDUS*), *governor* (*GŪBERNATOR*), *sudden* (Low Latin *SŪBITANUS*), *sovereign* (Low Latin *SŪPER+anus*), *number*; Latin *u* in position has the largest number: *justice*, *justify*, *multiply*, *publish*, *supply*, *suppress*, *succor*, *double*, *rut* (Fr. *route*, Low Latin *VIA RUPTA*), *suffer*, *supple*, *sustenance*, *assumption*, *plunge* (Low Latin **PLUMBICARE*), *trump* (*trump-card*, Lat. *TRIUMPHO*), *brush* (Low Latin *BRUSTIA*), *nun* (Low Latin *NUNNA* or *NONNA*), *unnery*, *sum*. Latin long *ō* furnishes *couple*, *culvert* (Lat. root *CŌLARE*, O. Fr. *coulouëre*); Latin short *o* gives *juggler* (*JŌCULATOR*), *color*, *constable* (*CŌMES STABULI*); Latin *o* in position furnishes *truss* (Lat. root *TORTUS*, Low Latin **TORTIARE*. O. Fr. *trusser*, *trosser*), *country* (Low Latin *CONTRADA*). The Latin particle *CON* (*co*) gives *cover*, *covered* (Fr. *couverlit*, from *couvrir* and *lit*; Latin *CO-OPERIRE*), *comfort* (Low Latin *CONFORTARE*), *discomfit*. The O. French furnishes two: *buffet* (origin doubtful), and *butcher* (O. Fr. *boc*, *bouc*, that is, *buck-killer*). From the German we have *supper* (Low German *supen*), and *touch* (O. H. G. *zucchen*), und probably *grudge*.

The sources of the (*a*)-sound represented by the Romance element of modern English are not so varied as in the Anglo-Saxon element. Still the leading vowels are the same (that is, *ū*, *ō*) as in the Anglo-Saxon element; *ū*, *ō* are also common to both elements. The consonant-complex is the same. We also know that in the sixteenth century these Romance vowels (*u*, *o*, also with *ou*, *eu*) were interchangeable in French. Thus, the conditions are the same as in the Anglo-Saxon element, and as soon as the words became nationalized they would suffer the same fate. Even in French the Latin long and short *u* have melted together and appear as (*a*) and (*ä*) in the accented syllable of modern English. If we go back to CHAUCER'S language, these two *u*'s which produced modern (*a*) and (*ä*) still preserved a different sound. The *u* corresponding to French *u* (*y*) was spoken more like *ö* without lip-rounding than like the short *u*

in the Netherland *dus, tusschen* (TEN BRINK, 'Chaucers Spr. u. Versk.,' p. 53). The unaccented *u* suffered the same fate as the accented. When in a protected position we have (a) and (ä). In the open syllable it exceptionally appears in modern English as (a); cf. M. E. *stodie, stodienden*, mod. E. *study, studied*. In the close syllable, French unaccented *u* (y) shared the fate of *u*, and exchanged with *o*, as in *jostyce, bornyst, torkye*. It was regularly short in M. E., and probably represents exactly the same sound lying midway between *u* in *but* and Gaelic *laogh* described above. As in the Anglo-Saxon element, it developed in different ways according as it stood in an unaccented syllable or one with secondary accent, in open or close syllable. Cf. mod. E. *jealously, coverture, glutton, coquet, color, summons, juggler, russet, buffet, company, comfort, country, covenable* with *journey, courtesy, burgess, conduit*, etc. We not only find an exchange of *u* with *o*, but also in rare cases before a protected nasal *ou* appears; as, *scoumfit* (Cl. 151), *coumfort* (Pt. 223), *countre* (P. 297), etc. This orthography possibly indicates that the vowel was not always short. We also find *trobleth* and *troubleth*, *dobleth* and *doubleth*. This difference of spelling is represented in the modern English *just, joust* and *adjust* (all from Low Latin JUXTARE, ADJXTARE). The M. E. spelling *ioustes, ioustynde* would possibly indicate a long vowel, but even if some of these vowels still preserved their length in the sixteenth century, they must have become common or short in the period of the transition to the sound in *laogh*.

In the French of the sixteenth century, we find an exchange of both the *u* and the *o* (and also *ou*) with *eu*. The words which more nearly concern us are: *je trouue, je treuve, je prouue, je preuve, je espreuve, je reprouue, je repreuve* (modern French *épreuve, preuve*), *je couvre, je coeuvre, cueuvrechief, queuvrechief, meuvons, que je meuve, je souffers, flourir, fleurir, florissant, fleurissant* (THUROT i., p. 454 ff.). If we turn to the English of the same period, we shall find the same exchange. Thus we have *proue, preooin, preouen, preued, preue, reproue, repreue, preofunge, preef, proof; controue, controeuued, contreue, contreeue; I retrieve* (cf. O. Fr. *retrouue* and *retrieue*); *couere, kuuere, keouere, keuere* (cf. modern *kiuver* in Leistershire); *kercheues, keuerchifs; couerled, couerlite; suffre, soffre*, but never *soufre*, nor *seufre*. In modern English these words furnish a number of sounds: *prove* (u), *proof* (u), *reprieve* (i), *contrive* (ai), *kerchief* (ë), and our (a) in *cover, coverlet, suffer*. The rhymes are also interesting: *meuen: cleuen, (cleßfan: swo-*

uen, swefen). *proued* (: *houe, behōfian*), *proue* (: *woze, wōgian*: *byhoue: loue I*); *reproue* (: *loue: byhoueth*); *approve* (: *move: love*); *preued* (: *heued, heafod: leued*); *preue* (: *Eue: leue*); *repreue* (: *leue: greue: beleue*); *controue* (: *moue*). By the rhymes *approve: move: love*, we see that two distinct mod. E. sounds [u and (a)] were at this period near enough alike to rhyme with each other and the same may be said of all these words. It is difficult to determine just what this sound was, but PROF. TEN BRINK (*ibid.*, p. 51) has described it as accurately as possible when he says: "The spelling *ew* is also likewise found where the sound *ü* (y) stands before a vowel: *mewe* beside *muwe* (Fr. *mue*), *remewe*. Both this spelling (*ew*) and the origin of *eschewe* (O. H. G. *scuhan*), *sewe* (O. H. G. *siuwan*) tend to show that the M. E. *ü*-sound stood nearer the *ö*-sound and perhaps came very near the Alsatian pronunciation of German *u* or Fr. *ou*."

Thus, again, we find ourselves in contact with a sound intermediate between *ü* and *ö* and approaching the sound intermediate between (a) and Gaelic *laogh*. But this particular variety of this still-undetermined sound furnished but few words with the (a)-sound in mod. Eng. and very few with the *eu*-sound in mod. Fr. Yet, enough in each case to show that it stood on the same *niveau* with the sound of different origin from which the mod. Eng. (a)-sound was developed and may have been influenced by this undetermined sound, if it did not itself influence it.

We have mentioned the shortening of the long *ō* and its transition to (a). But it rarely took this course. Frequently it passed to (uu), as *sōne, soon*; *bōk, book*; *fōt, foot*. "The passages already cited from Palsgrave and Bullokar show that in their pronunciation M. E. *ō* had not yet been changed completely into (uu), as in the pronunciation of the other first Middle English authorities: Palsgrave and Bullokar probably pronounced *book* exactly as Swedish (*book, Ellis*)" (SWEET'S 'Hist. of Engl. Sounds,' p. 239). It is SWEET'S mid-mixed-round, short in Fr. *homme*; cf. It. *uomo*. It is also heard in Western New York in *home* (Hoom), *stone* (stoon, or perhaps better ston). This is in all probability the identical sound from which the present (a) started in its transition to its present sound. We find isolated instances of its existence (that is of oo or o) in various parts of the country and it is heard in Charleston in such word as *book, look, shook, cook, could, would*, etc., sometimes long and sometimes short. In the mouth of the vulgar it drops to (a). We can therefore distinguish three shades in the pronunciation

of *book*, etc. The first is the standard pronunciation of the cultured (buuk, or buk); it is the learned pronunciation used at the schools and by the few who pride themselves on a classic pronunciation. The second is heard in older persons and in those who have not been influenced by the more learned pronunciation (book, or bok). Often, however, the lower classes drop to a sound corresponding to the Scotch sound in *come up* and even to (a).

The influence of the earlier French on the pronunciation of *Beaufort* and *Beaufain* has already been noticed in the 'Trans. of Mod. Lang. Ass.' iii, p. 94. It is undoubtedly the direct influence of the Huguenot settlement here in the state. They probably brought with them the older pronunciation of *eau* (Dans la terminaison *eau*, l'e- féminin se fit entendre longtemps, particulièrement dans les mots en *ceau* et *zeau*, *morceau*, *ruisseau*, *museau*, dans *marteau*, *bateau*, dans *pseàume*, et jusqu' à la fin du siècle dans *eau*; mais on n'entendait plus que *o* dans la plupart des mots. THUROT, ii, p. 747). We can possibly see the influence on the Charleston pronunciation of *due*, etc.

Consonant influence is less marked and of too subtle a nature to be traced back to its origin. The gutturals (g, k) present the greatest similarity in the two languages. On page 97 (ibid.) we discussed the palatalization of these letters in words like *garden*, *cart*, etc. The French of the latter part of the seventeenth century and the first part of the eighteenth offers a similar process for our study. DANGEAU (1645-1723, cf. THUROT, ii, pp. 197-8), a Parisian, says: "Il faut remarquer qu'en françois devant les *é* fermés, les *è* ouverts et la voyèle *eu*, on prononce ces deus consones un peu mouillées et come s'il y avait un petit *i*: on prononce *guèrir* come s'il y vait *guièrir*, *rigueur* come s'il y aviat *riguieur*, *question* comes s'il y avait *quiestion*, *vainquenr* come s'il y avait *vainquieur*. BOINDIN (Paris, 1676-1751) makes the same remark. DANGEAU's work was published in 1694 and BOINDIN's in 1709, the very period in which the Huguenots were emigrating to America. How extensive this palatalization was in France, or to what regions it was confined we are not informed by THUROT. But it was absolutely denied by contemporaries and may be only a fancy of these writers. Still they were accurate in other respects and such a pronunciation may have existed, though not recognized as standard. It would be impossible to say whether it was brought here by them, as the French has disappeared. But it may have strengthened a tendency already existing.

LA NAISSANCE
DU
CHEVALIER AU CYGNE
OU LES
ENFANTS CHANGÉS EN CYGNES

FRENCH POEM OF THE XIITH CENTURY

PUBLISHED FOR THE FIRST TIME, TOGETHER WITH AN INEDITED PROSE VERSION,
FROM THE MSS. OF THE NATIONAL AND ARSENAL LIBRARIES AT PARIS

WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES AND VOCABULARY

BY

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1889

TO

ERNESTO MONACI

PROFESSOR IN THE UNIVERSITY OF ROME

THIS WORK

IS

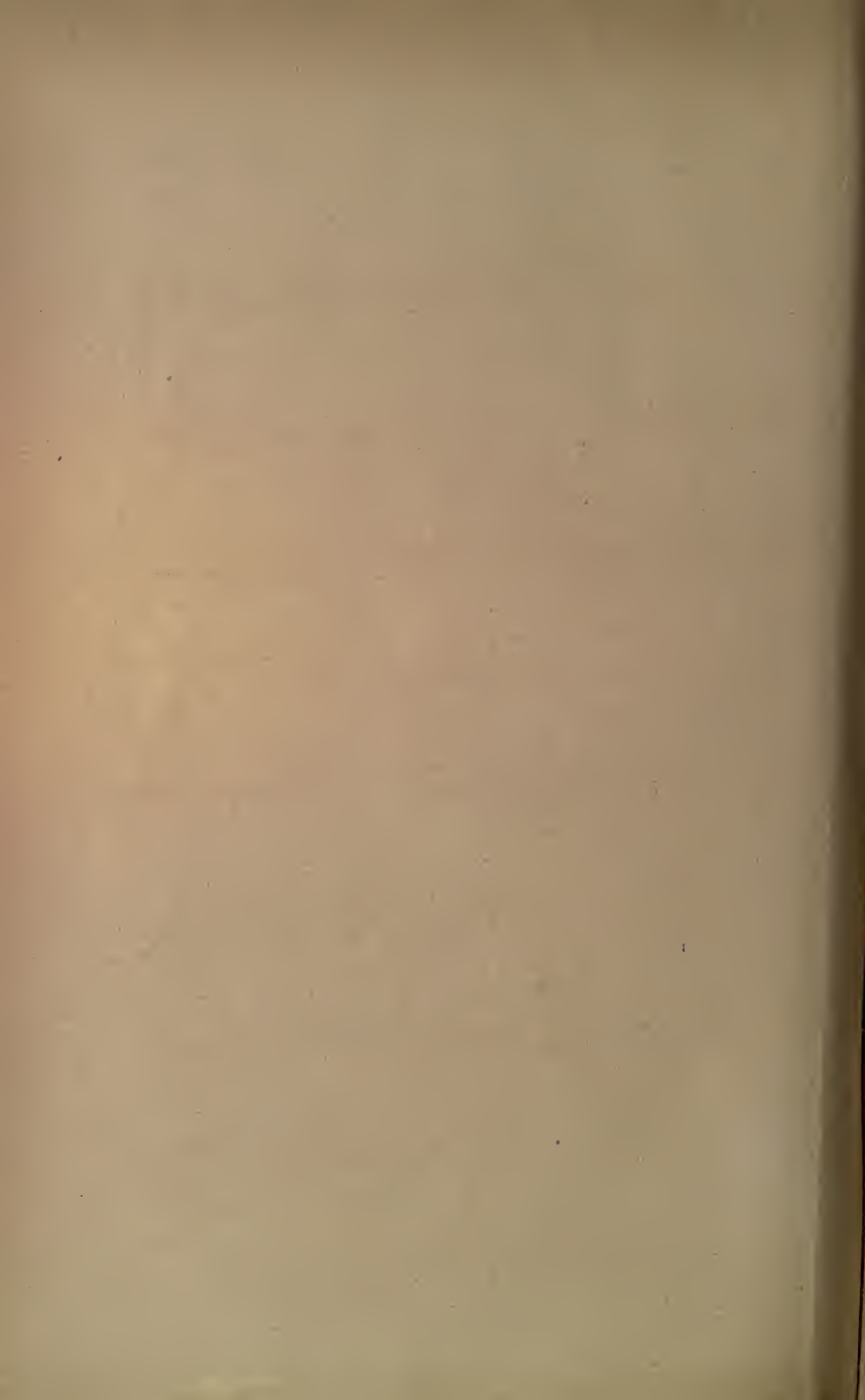
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PREFATORY NOTE.

TO the friendly and unfailing interest of M. Gaston Paris I am a second time indebted for suggestions and encouragement leading to the publication of an inedited Old French text,—with the much regretted difference, however, that owing to the force of circumstances it has been necessary in the present case to forego the important benefit of any direct assistance or revision on the part of my former instructors. Apart from this disadvantage, the necessity of bringing the edition within the limits of the publications of the Modern Language Association, has precluded an exhaustive treatment of the numerous subjects rightly considered as belonging to a critical edition. In the Introduction, only a brief sketch could be given of the leading affiliations of the legend involved, with some account of the MSS. employed; while all formal study of the phonetics, morphology, syntax, versification, dialect, etc., of the poem, which should naturally succeed the preliminary constitution of the text, have had to be postponed, in view of what were adjudged, within the purposes of the Modern Language Association, the more practical and immediate claims of Notes and Vocabulary. It is doubtless never, in ordinary conditions, within the power of any single worker to establish in a first edition a wholly accurate and satisfactory text, but I have used my best endeavors to that end, in the hope that even a partial success in the manipulation of material so interesting in itself, may call forth the critical contributions of the best Romance scholars towards its utmost possible improvement.

H. A. T.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY,
Baltimore, October, 1889.



INTRODUCTION.

The name "Cycle of the Crusade" was first given by M. Léon Gautier, in his 'Epopées françaises,' to the *chansons de geste* which grew up in celebration of the heroes and exploits of the First Crusade. The same series of poems was, in 1877, made the subject of a collective study by H. Pigeonneau, under the title, 'Le Cycle de la Croisade et de la famille de Bouillon.' It would not be here in place to outline what has been done in the way of publishing, analysing and classifying the various poems of this cycle. Their nucleus is the *Chanson d'Antioche*, written in the second quarter of the twelfth century, probably by Richard le Pèlerin, and describing the First Crusade, from the preaching of Peter the Hermit to the capture of Antioch. Following soon after this, but not by the same author, comes a continuation, entitled the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, reciting the dénoûment of the Crusade with the renowned victory of the Christians at the battle of Ascalon, written probably near the beginning of the Second Crusade, i. e., towards the year 1147. The conspicuous and natural hero of these poems was the military leader of the Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon, the same who at a later date becomes the central personage of the more famous *Gerusalemme Liberata* of Tasso. The literary popularity as well as historical prominence of the name of Godfrey, as we are prepared to expect from what is known of the evolution of other mediæval cycles, led to the development of a branch carrying the story further back and recounting the origin and earlier career of the crusader hero, under the title of *Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroi de Bouillon*. According to the earliest version of the poem, the birth of Godfrey was on this wise:—Otto, being emperor at Nimwegen, is appealed to by the widowed Duchess of Bouillon and her daughter Beatrice, for his protection against the threatened usurpation of Renier, Duke of Saxony. At the same moment there arrives on the river an unknown knight, in a boat which is drawn in tow by a white swan. The "Knight of the Swan" disembarks, undertakes the defense of the duchess and her

daughter, slays the usurper, and marries Beatrice, imposing upon her, however, an oath never to question him as to his birth or antecedents, with the warning that her first indiscretion in this matter will result in their certain separation. A daughter, Ida, is born to the couple thus united; but by the time she has reached the age of seven years, the mother's curiosity can no longer be restrained, and she propounds to her husband the fatal question. At this the knight, in sorrowful obedience to his destiny, bids farewell to his vassals, recommends his daughter to the emperor, and repairs to the shore, where the swan that first brought him to that land is awaiting him with his boat; and the knight, departing as he came, disappears never to be heard of more. Ida, having attained her fourteenth year, is married by the Count Eustace of Boulogne, and from this union 'spring three sons, Godfrey, Eustace and Baldwin, that is to say, our Godfrey of Bouillon and his two distinguished brothers.—So much is briefly given here, with a view to indicating broadly the relation to the Cycle of the Crusade in general, and to the *Chanson de Godefroi de Bouillon* in particular,¹ of the poem of the *Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*, which is the subject of our present study.

I.—THE LEGEND.²

From the twelfth century, down to the production of Wagner's important opera of *Lohengrin* in 1850, many have been the forms assumed on European soil by the legend of a mysteriously appearing and disappearing knight, who performs deeds of valor in the interest of defenseless innocence. From the earliest times, however, it appears attached to another legend, that of the *Children changed into Swans*, from which it may be supposed to have been originally distinct. It is this latter legend of the Transformed Swans, ingeniously appropriated to account for the origin of the mythical knight who had been assumed as

¹ For a brief characterization of this cycle, cf. G. Paris, 'La Littérature française au moyen âge,' § 29.

² The legend of the Knight of the Swan has been more or less fully studied by Gürres, Introduction to his edition of 'Lohengrin,' Heidelberg, 1813; by the Baron von Reiffenberg, Introduction to his edition of the 'Chronique rimée de Philippe Mousket,' tom. ii, pp. xxxiv-lvi (Collection de Chroniques belges), and Introduction to the 'Chevalier au Cygne' (Brussels, 1846), pp. i-clxxxiv; by Von der Hagen, *Abhandlungen der Berliner Academie*, 1846, p. 513 ff.; by W. Müller, "Die Sage vom Schwanritter," *Germania*, i (1856), pp. 418-440; by W. J. Thoms, preface to vol. iii of 'Early Eng. Prose Romances,' London, 1846; by Utterson, Introduction to the 'Chevalere Assigne' (re-edited with 'preface, etc., by H. H. Gibbs, E. E. Text Society, Extra Series, vi, London, 1868.) Bibliographical references are given by Oesterley, Introduction to 'Johannis de Alta Silva Dolopathos', Strassburg, 1873.

the ancestor of Godfr y of Bouillon, which forms in reality the subject-matter of the accompanying text of the *Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*.

1. Confining our attention for the present to this previously inedited version of the 'Naissance,' we find what appears to be the earliest recorded trace of the legend which it contains, in the Latin romance of the monk Jean de Haute Seille (Johannes de Alta Silva), entitled 'Dolopathos, sive de Rege et Septem Sapientibus.' The story of this earliest version, which is here analysed from the Latin text as published for the first time by Oesterley, in 1873,³ is as follows:

A certain youth, while hunting, gives chase to a white stag and loses his way in the forest. There he discovers a fay (*nimpha*) bathing in a fountain and holding a golden necklace in her hand. Captivated by her beauty he approaches, carries her from the fountain, *eademque nocte sub divo juxta fontem nuptias celebravit*. The fay, being versed in the portents of the stars, recognizes that she is destined to give birth, at one time, to six sons and a daughter; and in terror reveals this to her companion. Striving to allay her fears, he returns with her in the morning to his castle, where his mother, filled with jealousy, endeavors to break off the union. Failing in this, when the seven children are born, each with a golden chain about its neck, she substitutes seven puppies for them, as they lie beside their sleeping mother, and sends them away with a servant, to be smothered or drowned. The servant, unwilling to put them to death, leaves them under a tree in the forest, where they are discovered and cared for by an old hermit. Meanwhile their wicked grandmother shows the puppies to her son, who is horrified at the sight and orders his wife to be inhumed up to her breasts in the open courtyard, and to have poured over her head all the offscourings of the palace. Thus she remains for seven years. One day when their father is on the chase, he comes upon the children in the forest wearing their golden necklaces, but is unable to overtake them. Returning home disappointed, he relates to his mother what he has seen, and she, conscious of her guilt, learns from the servant who exposed the children that they had not been put to death. The servant now hastens in quest of them and finds the six sons transformed into swans and disporting themselves on the river, while their sister keeps watch over their necklaces on the bank. Coming stealthily upon her—*caute molliterque movens pedes*—he snatches away all the necklaces but her own. On his return these are given to a goldsmith to be wrought into a goblet. In vain he tries to melt or break them—excepting, indeed, one, which his efforts slightly injure.

³ A more recent edition has been published by Studemund, of which I have not the indication.

So he substitutes other gold of equal weight, and keeps the necklaces for himself.—Now the children, having lost their necklaces, are unable to recover their human form, and flying away with their sister in quest of a lake to live upon, arrive at the pond in their father's pleasure-grounds. There he sees the swans, and gives orders that they shall not be molested. The little sister, who is able to resume her natural form at will, visits the palace daily to ask for bread, of which—without knowing who she is—she gives a part to her mother, who is still inhumed in the palace court, and the rest she carries to her swan-brothers at the pond. These strange actions having been seen by all, the father sends for the girl, and finding upon her a necklace like the one that had been worn by her mother, draws from her all the story of her brothers and herself. The grandmother—*totius iniquitatis coagulum omniumque pessimarum mulierum, caput*—overhears the conversation, and plans with the servant to kill the little girl with a sword on her way to the pond. But he is surprised by the father in this attempt. The wicked grandmother makes a full confession, the goblet is brought forth, the goldsmith summoned, and the necklaces returned to the children, who are thus all restored, excepting the one whose necklace had been injured, for whom nothing can avail. So he joins himself henceforth to the fortunes of one of his brothers. *Hic est cygnus de quo fama in eternum perseverat, quod cathena aurea militem in navicula trahat armatum.* The captive mother is happily released, and the wicked grandmother confined in her place.

The Dolopathos version of the 'Seven Wise Masters' from which the above tale is extracted, is in a general way an imitation of the Oriental romance of 'Sintipas,' but is quite different from the Latin text of the 'Historia Septem Sapientum' and the French 'Roman des Sept Sages,' which likewise go back to the 'Sintipas.'⁴ The author of the 'Dolopathos,' as appears from his statement that what he writes he has written *non ut visa, sed ut audita*, as well as from incidental evidence, gathered his material from oral and not from written sources; and of the eight stories that he narrates, only three coincide with those told in the 'Historia Septem Sapientum.' The other five, and among them our legend of the Seven Swans, have been derived from sources other than the 'Sintipas.' But it will aid us in forming an idea of the setting in which our legend is first discovered, if we cast a glance at the make-up of the collection of tales of which it forms a part. The framework of the 'Dolopathos' version may be presented succinctly in a few words:

⁴ Cf. Gaston Paris, *Romania* II, p. 490 ff.

A widower king has a son whom he confides to a wise preceptor to be educated. The time for the youth's return having arrived, the preceptor, after consulting the stars, admonishes the prince that for seven days after appearing at court he must observe absolute silence, under penalty of the gravest misfortunes. Meantime the king has married again, and his second wife, on the return of the mute prince, becomes enamoured of him. Finding her advances repelled, she shamelessly accuses him to the king, who orders him to be put to death. But seven Wise Men, by relating to the king stories of the perfidy of women, succeed in deferring, from day to day, the execution of the sentence, until at the expiration of the seven days the prince speaks in his own defense, and the wicked stepmother suffers the punishment in his stead.

Of the moral tales thus narrated, our story of the Swan-children is the seventh; but since it is not one of those borrowed from the Oriental 'Sintipas,' where are we to look for the traces of its origin? In form, in contents, in general tone, it fits in admirably with the Oriental setting in which it is found imbedded, but no Eastern prototype of the tale has thus far been pointed out. On the other hand, the legend has been believed to belong peculiarly to the region of Lorraine (*Lohengrin* being in fact, a variation of the German *Lothringen*), and this view is supported by M. Gaston Paris, who, in the article already referred to, presents as a reason for his opinion the consideration that the story of the Swans is more simply and logically narrated than the other tales of the collection, a fact which would seem to show that it had not been subject to the many alterations incidental to a series of migrations. It may also be borne in mind that the swan figures somewhat conspicuously in the mythology of the Northern peoples, the Valkyrias, who may be called the fays of the Scandinavians, appearing in the day-time in the form of swans, and one of their number bearing the name of *Svanhvita*, 'Swan-white.'

2. Whatever may have been the ultimate origin of the legend, it found its way into the French written vernacular through the translation of the 'Dolopothos' into octosyllabic verse which was made in the same century by the poet Herbert.⁵ The story of the White Swans, as told by Jean de Haute Seille, is here faithfully reproduced, but naturally with the addition of many poetical embellishments, which, though interesting in themselves, there is here no occasion to dwell upon.

⁵ Brunet et de Montalglon, 'Dolopothos,' Paris, 1856. The tale of the Swans was analysed by Loiseleur Deslongchamps, 'Essai sur les fables indiennes,' p. 138 ff., Paris, 1838.

3. Closely related to these two redactions, but perhaps not directly derived from either of them, is the story of the so-called *Naissance du Chevalier au Cygne*. In this poem the characters are for the first time given individual names and the semblance of an historical setting. The scenes are considerably amplified, in order to lend an air of reality and local color, and various episodes are inserted which are more or less outside the course of the original narrative.

We are here introduced to a certain King Lothair, of the region beyond Hungary, who, while hunting loses his way and comes to a fountain, by the side of which he falls asleep. Here he is discovered by a beautiful maiden, Eliouse, who shades his face from the sun with one of her long sleeves. Awakened by this movement, Lothair is at once enamoured of her beauty, and revealing to her that he is a king, he offers her his hand and crown. In accepting, she predicts that their descendants will furnish a king to the Orient. Her children, each with a magic necklace, will consist of six sons and a daughter at one birth, which will cost the mother her life. On their appearance at the royal castle, the queen-mother, Matrosilie, opposes the marriage, but the king persists and the nuptials are celebrated with great splendor. A few months later, Lothair's dominions are invaded by a Pagan king, Gordoce of Palie, whom it is necessary to repel. During the absence of Lothair on this mission, Eliouse (fatally to herself, as predicted) gives birth to the seven children. Matrosilie conceals them in two baskets and orders her servant, Monicier, to abandon them in the forest. He leaves the baskets humanely outside the window of a hermit, who, with his sister, cares for the children. The queen-mother sends word to the king that his wife has borne him seven serpents which have bitten her to death and flown away through the air. In sorrow the king founds to her memory a monastery, with daily distribution of bread to the poor. Seven years later, Rudemart, a messenger of the king, chances to seek shelter at the hermitage, where he is struck by the sight of the children with their necklaces, and on his return relates to the queen-mother what he has seen. He is at once sent back for the necklaces, which he cuts off with sharp scissors, as the children lie asleep in bed; but the little girl is safely covered up and escapes detection. The six boys become swans and fly away to the fish-pond in the royal domain. The king, seeing them there, gives orders that they are not to be molested, but his nephew Plantoul, who knows nothing of this injunction, tries to shoot one of them for the king, to whom he brings word of his failure. Lothair, enraged, throws at Plantoul a gold basin, which is broken, and to supply the gold to repair it, the queen-mother gives to the goldsmith one of the six necklaces.—The hermit, grieving at the loss of the children,

decides that he ought not longer to expose the sister to like perils, and sends her forth to make her way to the city, where he hopes she may find protectors. In time she is directed by a good woman to the king's monastery to ask for bread. This she takes to the pond to moisten it, where she recognizes her brothers and gives them a portion of her food. The king's seneschal, following her thither with attempts at familiarity, is driven away by the swans, and carries the strange account to Lothair. The king himself in turn follows the girl and questions her, when her story of the seven children and their necklaces discloses the perfidy of the queen-mother, who confesses, receives pardon, and restores the five necklaces, whereupon five of the swans recover their human form, while the sixth is left disconsolate. The five boys are armed knights and go to seek their fortunes in the world; but one of them, the Knight of the Swan, is unwilling to leave his spell-bound brother behind, and setting out on their voyage together, the Swan towing the knight in his bark, they arrive after sixty days at the city of Nimwegen.

In the above version we note several characteristic variations from that of the 'Dolopathos.' The youth is here a king. His bride is no longer represented as a fay—although the word slips once into the text as if by inadvertence (v. 1635). She loses her life in giving birth to the children, which relieves the narrative of the extreme cruelty of the previous story and makes it easy for the king to pardon his mother's offense, when all his children but one are at last restored to him. Indeed, the son's duty of filial devotion is especially emphasized here :

S'une autre eüst çou fait, ses cors en fust honis,
Mais por çou qu'est sa mere, ne l'en sera ja pis.

In this sense, the change may be regarded as an improvement, although it at once removes the story from its connection with the extensive cycle whose distinctive feature is the persecution of feminine innocence. The children, moreover, are in this version first transformed into swans by the mere loss of their necklaces, while in the former, having availed themselves of the magic power of the necklaces to transform them into swans, they are unable, when deprived of these, to break the spell and resume their former condition—which is evidently the more primitive form of the enchantment. Again, the failure of the sister to change herself into a swan and fly away with her brothers, which necessitates her being sent off by the hermit later, alone and unfriended, seems clearly to be a perverted and unnatural feature of

the tale. Another incidental feature of the 'Dolopathos' version, however, has been retained, which might readily have been so altered as to aid in preserving the verisimilitude of the new conditions developed in the *chanson*, namely, the period intervening between the birth of the children and their discovery in the forest might have been extended from seven years to an indefinite number—the later prose version makes it *grans tans* (cf. p. 96, l. 41)—whereby the attentions of the king's seneschal to the sister and the readiness of the brothers to receive the order of knighthood, would not have called for the reader's indulgent allowances.

4. We come now to the well-known form of the 'Chevalier au Cygne' as published by Hippeau in 1874,⁶ to which are allied most of the versions of the story occurring in German, English, Italian and Spanish. It will be unnecessary to offer here an analysis of this important version, since an inedited prose translation and abridgment of it, scarcely longer than an analysis—the author says: *l'ai commenchie sans rime pour l'estore avoir plus a abregier*—is published at the end of the present volume. This redaction is noteworthy for suppressing the meeting of the king and the fay beside the fountain and for postponing the prediction of the future greatness of their progeny; in place of this introduction is substituted a discussion between a king and his queen as to the possibility of a woman innocently giving birth to twins, which the childless queen, in virtuous jealousy of a happy mother of twins whom the king regrettingly points out to her, strenuously denies. Later she herself becomes the mother of seven sons at a birth; whereupon she is taunted and persecuted by her wicked mother-in-law, who persuades the king, as in the 'Dolopathos' version, that his wife has given birth to seven puppies. The names of the characters are here changed throughout, *Lothair* being replaced by *Oriant* (is "*le roi Oriant*" possibly the echo of "*un roi d'Orient*"?), *Elouse* by *Beatris*, *Matrosilie* by *Matabrune*, *Monicier* by *Marcon*, *Rudemart* by *Malquerre*, while the *Chevalier au Cygne*, who is not otherwise designated in the preceding version, receives the name of *Elie*,⁷ and he it is who escapes without the loss of his talisman, becomes the champion of his condemned mother, the

⁶ La Chanson du Chevalier au Cygne et de Godefroy de Bouillon, in 8vo, chez Aubry. Paris, 1874.—Deuxième partie: Godefroid de Bouillon, Episode des Chétifs, Paris, 1877.

⁷ The nominative forms, *Helyas*, *Elyas*, etc., are more commonly met with.

exposer of his wicked grandmother, the suppresser of a revolt which she instigates, the successor of his father Oriant, and the hero of various exploits, all before his arrival in the mysterious bark at Nimwegen.

5. Our attention is next claimed by a carefully prepared composite redaction of the two preceding versions, preserved in a manuscript of the Arsenal Library at Paris. It begins with a narrative reproducing very faithfully, for the first twelve or thirteen hundred verses, the text of the 'Naissance' version; and from this manuscript are derived the variants accompanying the early portion of the present edition. Apart from the ordinary verbal deviations, the scribe has contented himself with the substitution of the name of *Oriant* for that of *Lotaire* up to the point where the former version is fully merged into the latter, and the story is continued in accordance with the *Elie* version. In the few cases where the name *Lotaire* occurs in the cæsura, thus precluding the substitution for it of a word of masculine termination, the difficulty is avoided by slightly changing the structure of the sentence, as will be later pointed out. Another individual instance of substitution is of rather striking interest. Contrary to the statement of Pigeonneau, who speaks of *la mère du roi que le poème ne nomme pas* ('Cycle de la Croisade,' p. 127), the name of Lothair's mother, *Matrosilie*, is mentioned a single time in the 'Naissance' version, and then in the assonance (*Jo vos lairai ma mere, dame Matrosilie*, v. 713). Being already aware of Pigeonneau's remark, and having discovered here what appeared to be the name of the queen-mother, although its isolated occurrence and unfamiliar form left much room for suspicion as to the correctness of the text or of the reading, it was with no little curiosity that, in the work of collation, I approached the reproduction of this passage in the Arsenal MS., where, if this were indeed the name of Lothair's mother, the difficulty in connection with substituting the form *Matabrune* would in some way have to be overcome by the scribe. What was then the collator's sense of being *en rapport* with the vanished hand that had penned this line over six hundred years before, when it was found that the expedient adopted for obviating the little *malencontre* was to strike a compromise between the two names, by writing *Matabrulie*! In one or two instances the name *Lotaire* also occurs in the assonance, and here the lines are so changed in each case as to end in the

word *faire*. Rarely, no doubt, has a scribe incorporated so lengthily a passage into another work, with none but changes so minute in the language of the borrowed text.

6. Dating from about the middle of the fourteenth century we find another elaborate composite version⁸ in which, curiously enough, the two introductions—the meeting with the fay and the discussion over the birth of twins—are neatly interwoven. Here the king marries the fay in the manner of the first version, after which occurs the discussion as to the twins. In this version is introduced the war against the Pagan king, but the author foregoes any description of it, with a view, as he says, to abridging the story. The hermit himself is called Elie, and in turn gives this name to his *protégé*. Matabrune's servitor discovers the children who had been exposed in the wood, and learns from the hermit their history. When the goldsmith receives the necklaces, he melts only one in the crucible and the metal multiplies in so wonderful a manner that he has enough to make two goblets. From this he suspects some mystery, and carefully preserves the other five necklaces. The story proceeds as before, excepting that here, after Elie has been for some time king, his brother the swan, without any premonition, calls for him on the river-bank with his bark, and Elie, bidding farewell to his kingdom, repairs to Nimwegen, there to redress the wrong of the Duchess of Bouillon.

Thus far our attention has been confined to the various forms which the legend has assumed in France, and it will not be possible to follow in detail the numerous transformations it has undergone in other countries. In Germany the legend is connected with the distinguished names of Wolfram von Eschenbach and Conrad von Würzburg. English versions are given in an alliterative poem of 370 verses entitled *Romance of the Chevalere Assigné*, and in a work of forty-three chapters called *Helyas, Knight of the Swan*. In Italy the story appears under the title of *Hystoria della Regina Stella e de Matabruna*;⁹ Spain has the legend incorporated at great length in the *Gran Conquista de Ultramar*;¹⁰ while Iceland has her Saga of *Helis, Knight of the Swan*.

⁸ Le Chevalier au Cygne et Godefroy de Bouillon, poëme historique, publié pour la première fois avec de nouvelles recherches sur les légendes qui ont rapport à la Belgique, un travail et des documents sur les Croisades; par le Baron de Reiffenberg, Bruxelles, 1846.

⁹ G. Passano, 'Novellieri Italiani,' 10 'La Gran Conquista de Ultramar,' chap. xlvii ff. (Biblioteca de autores espafioles, tom. xlv). Cf. G. Paris, *Romania* xvii, p. 526.

Even while unwillingly passing these interesting and widely diffused versions with a mere mention, it may seem especially in place to consider briefly the forms in which the legend has been rendered almost universally current among the present generation of readers, in the Fairy Tales of the Brothers Grimm and of Hans Christian Andersen.

As told by Grimm, the story is in some respects one of the most interesting of the versions that have come down to us, inasmuch as having been gathered from popular tradition within the present century, it still presents certain features which appear to carry us back in a vague way to peculiarities of the *Dolopathos* and *Naissance* versions that have not been preserved in any of the other redactions.

In Grimm's tale we have a king astray in the forest in pursuit of a stag. There he comes upon an old woman who promises to direct him out of the forest, on condition that he marries her daughter, who is peerless in beauty. He consents, his bride mounts behind him, and he takes her to his castle and marries her.—By his first wife, the king has had seven children, six sons and a daughter. Fearing that their step-mother may ill-treat them, he conceals them in a castle in the heart of the forest, the path to which is so obscure that the king himself requires a fairy clue, in order to make his way thither. But his new queen discovers the secret, and makes for the children six magic shirts. One day while the king is away on the chase, the queen goes to the hidden castle and puts the shirts on the children, whereupon they immediately become swans, all except the little girl, who had not made her appearance. The next day the king goes to the castle, and finds only the daughter. She tells him how she has seen her brothers changed into swans and how they have flown away over the trees. Fearing the same fate for the girl, the king tries to take her away with him, but she has such a dread of her stepmother that she begs to be left one more night in the forest. That same night she escapes from the castle, and going in quest of her brothers, finds a cabin containing six little beds. Towards morning six swans fly in at the windows. They begin to breathe on each other and in the act their plumage is turned into magic shirts. The sister recognizes her brothers and asks them what she can do to deliver them. They reply: by remaining six years without speaking or laughing, and by weaving them meanwhile six new shirts out of daisies. Their brief respite has now expired, and they resume the shape of swans and fly away. The sister begins the task. One day the king of that country and his huntsmen pass that way, and espy her in her tower. She refuses to answer their questions, but to appease them

throws them first her golden necklace, then her belt, garters, all, in fact, but her *chemise*. But the king will not be satisfied; he finds her so beautiful that he throws his mantle about her and carries her off to his palace, where he marries her. But the king has an evil mother, and when the queen gives birth to her first-born child, the grandmother removes the babe while its mother sleeps and smearing the latter's mouth with blood accuses her to the king of having eaten her own child. The king will not believe this, but when the second child disappears in the same suspicious manner, and the mother, being mute, cannot exculpate herself, the king is no longer able to doubt, and the queen is condemned to death. But the six shirts at which she has been so long working are nearly finished, and as she is led to the stake, the six swans come flying down to her, and receiving their six shirts are at once transformed. Now the young queen is free to defend herself, and the wicked grandmother expiates her crime at the same stake. The king and queen live long and happily with their six brothers, and with three children who are born to them.

We have here two of the prominent features of the framework of the *Dolopathos*, viz., the scheming of the second wife to harm the children of the first, and the partial success of the attempt through the prolonged silence that has been imposed on the innocent victim. But it is interesting to note that whereas these features belong only to the *setting* of the stories in the Seven Wise Masters, they have here been incorporated into what, in the *Dolopathos*, was one of the subordinate tales.

The version given us by Hans Andersen is only like a distant echo of the tale we have been tracing, yet it bears unmistakable evidence of having a common origin with it. It is called the *White Swans*, and fills some fifty duodecimo pages.

In Andersen the king is represented as having had by his first wife twelve children, eleven sons, and a daughter, named Eliza.¹⁰ His second queen banishes the daughter to a peasant's hut and bids the boys to "fly away like great birds without a voice." But the spell is not so evil as she had thought, for they turn into magnificent swans and take flight. At the age of fifteen, Eliza is brought home again; and the queen, seeing how beautiful she is, would fain have changed her into a swan like her brothers, only she durst not, for fear of the king; so she rubs her over with walnut juice and leaves her hair unkempt, so that the father can not recognize his daughter. Thereupon Eliza starts out in quest of her brothers and meets an old woman, who tells her she has seen eleven swans swimming in the river, with golden crowns on their heads. She follows the river to the sea, and just as the sun is sinking, the eleven swans come flying to

¹⁰ It seems possible that the names *Eliouse*, *Elie*, *Eliza*, in the legend have a common origin.

the shore. Their plumage disappears, and they stand before her, eleven handsome princes. Recognizing their sister, they weave a net of willow-bark and carry her to their own enchanted land across the sea. There Eliza prays to have revealed to her a means of releasing them, and is wafted to the palace of the *Fata Morgana*, where the radiant fairy was quite like the old woman who had earlier directed her. The fairy tells her she must break nettles with her bare feet, for flax from which to plait eleven shirts of mail, and must never once speak till these are done. While she is busy at this task, the king of the country passes that way with his huntsmen, and they carry her off to the palace, where the king marries her with great pomp; but never can he induce her to utter a word. When her supply of nettles is exhausted she is forced to procure more by visiting the churchyard at dead of night; there the archbishop discovers her and accuses her to the king, who condemns her to be put to death; so she is imprisoned with the bundle of nettles for her pillow and the shirts of mail for a coverlet. When the day for the execution arrives, all the shirts are finished excepting one sleeve; and as Eliza is being led to the stake the eleven swans appear, over whom she quickly throws the shirts and they are all transformed. But the youngest brother has a swan's wing in place of an arm, for a sleeve was wanting to his shirt. "Now I may speak," she said; "I am innocent." So she lived for ever after happily with the king.

II.—THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The manuscripts in which we are directly interested in connection with the present edition, are unfortunately only two, yet the oldest and most important of these is so good as largely to atone for the lack of a more elaborate *apparatus criticus*. It is preserved in the National Library at Paris, *fonds français*, No. 12558, and was described by M. Paulin Paris, in his edition of the *Chanson d'Antioche*, as follows: "Vol. in-f° parvo, sur vélin, de 192 feuillets, orné de miniatures et de vignettes fort précieuses, écrit vers le commencement du XIII^e siècle. Relié en marroquin rouge aux armes de France sur les plats, et en chiffre de Louis XV sur le dos. Très beau et bon manuscrit." The poem of the *Naissance* occupies the first nineteen folios together with the *recto* and a small part of the *verso* of the twentieth folio, and is immediately followed by the *Chanson d'Antioche*, with only an intervening miniature, depicting the arrival of the Knight of the Swan in his bark at Nimwegen. The other miniature illustrations of the *Naissance* are all grouped symmetrically on the *recto* of the *feuille de garde*. They are seven in number:

No. 1. Eliouse laying her *manche* over the face of the sleeping king. His horse stands at his side, and his horn is suspended from a neighboring tree; No. 2. Lothair on horseback, Eliouse on her mule, followed by Samoine on horseback, as they arrive at the king's palace.—No. 3. The birth of the seven children: Matrosilie standing at the foot of Eliouse's bed, holding two baskets, three children in each basket and one on her arm.—No. 4. Monicier hanging the two baskets at the window of the hermit's hut.—No. 5. The six children taking flight in the form of swans, having been robbed of their necklaces by Rudemart, who stands by the bed.—No. 6. The sister feeding the six swans at the pond.—No. 7. The king transforming the swans into youths by restoring their necklaces. The manuscript is without rubrics.

The second manuscript is that of the composite redaction numbered 5. above (Arsénal 3139, formerly B. L. 165). M. Paulin Paris describes it in these words (*loc. cit.*): "Vol. in 4° magno sur vélin à doubles colonnes, orné de miniatures curieuses; daté de la fin de l'année 1268. Ms. précieux exécuté avec soin." The manuscript numbers 243 folios, and has been trimmed so closely by the binder as almost to clip the rubric at the top of folio 235, and even the uppermost line of each of the other remaining folios. Across the top of folio 1, *verso*, runs the following rubric:

Cest 9ment li rois oriās ki fu laious le ch'r au cisne ala cach' en le foriest z 9ment il sendormi sor li riu dune fontaine z 9ment .i. demisele le troua dormāt ki li mist se maī deuāt sē uiaire p^ω le solel. z puis leut il a feme si comme li livres le deuisera.—Below this rubric a double miniature extends across the page, representing at the left the king on horseback, blowing his horn and accompanied by his dogs; at the right, the king lies asleep and the damsel is spreading her *manche* over his face.—Across the top of folio 9, *verso*, runs the rubric: Cest ēsi 9 li mere le ch'r au cisne se deliura des .vii. enfans z 9ment matabrune li taie les ēfas les enuoia p^ω noier par main en le foriest.—Under the fourth line of 9^d is a miniature representing the queen with her new-born babes, and Matabrune handing one of them over to an attendant.—Folio 27, *verso*, across the top: Cest ensi cō li chevaliers le cisne entra ou batiel z que li cisnes lamena a nimaie et q'il enprist le batail p^ω le ueue dame duchoise de buillon. Enuiers Renier le sesne de saissoigne.—Across the same page

is a miniature showing the knight in armor, with his shield (a red cross on a field argent) suspended from the mast of his boat, which is drawn by the swan, arriving at land and welcomed by the emperor, the duchess and attendants.

CE EST DE LA NAISSANCE .i. CHEVALIER VAILLANT,
LE CHEVALIER LE CISNE, QUI DEX PAR AMA TANT.

- S**EGNOR, or m'escotés, por Deu et por son non,
Par itel convenent Dex vos face pardon,
Li rois de sainte gloire, qui par amontion
Vint en la sainte dame qui Marie ot a non.
5 Jou vos wel commencier une bone chançon,
L'estorie en fut trovee el mostier S. Fagon,
Tot droit en Rainscevals, si com oï avon,
Par dedans une aumaire u les livres met on ;
La l'avoit mise uns abes qui molt estoit preudon ;
10 Cil le prist a Nimaie, si com lisant trueve on.
Del Chevalier le Cisne dirai la nontion,
De lui et de son pere, Lotaires ot a non,
Confaitement il vinrent et par quele raison,
Et de quel terre il furent et de quel region.
15 Par defors Hungerie, si com lisant trovon,
Marcissoit uns roïames qui ert et grans et lons,
Si le tenoit uns rois qui molt par fu preudon :
Roi Phelipe l'apelent tot cil de son roïon.
Feme ot sage et cortoise et de bele façon ;
20 Et saciés par verté, si n'en dote nus hom,
Ke de bone semence bon fruit en atent on.
Li rois jut a sa feme par bone entencion
Et engenra .i. fil qui molt par fu preudon ;
Tant le porta la dame que Damedeu fu bon,
25 Et quant vint li termines de naistre l'enfançon,
Plus bele creature ne vit onques nus hon.
Al mostier le porterent par bone entencion,
Illuec le batiza uns evesques Simon,
Ens el non de baptesme Lotaires ot a non.
30 L'enfes crut et amende plus c'autres enfançon ;
Ce fu drois, qu'il estoit de bone estration.

- SEGNOR, or m'escoutés, por Deu le raemant,
 Si vos dirai cançon bien faite et avenant,
 Ce est de la naissance .i. chevalier vaillant,
 35 Le Chevalier le Cisne, qui Dex par ama tant
 K'il fu a son service maint jor a son vivant.
 De lui et de son pere, de son aiol avant,
 Vos dironmes l'estorie, saciés a esciant.
 Phelipes ot a non, qui molt par fu vaillant ;
 40 Ses flux ot non Lotaires, qui molt fu avenant.
 L'enfes crut et amende, et molt par fu saçant :
 Molt par fu bels et sages ; quant avoit .xii. ans
 D'eskiés sot et de tables et d'autres estrumans ;
 Bien savoit cevalcier avoec les bohordans.
 45 Molt en fu liés li peres, c'est drois, de ses enfans.
 Maladie le prist : quant ce vint a son tans
 Ke morir li convint, ce fu damages grans ;
 Le roi ensevelirent si home et si serjant,
 Enterrés fu le jor, si ot dolor molt grant.
 50 Grant duel i demenerent sa feme et si parant,
 Molt furent deceü de segnor bel et gant ;
 Mais encor raront boin, se Deu vient a talant.
 Quant li deus fu remés de cel enterremant,
 Lotaires a parlé a sen consellement ;
 55 Asseürer se fait de trestote sa gent,
 Et de tos les barons a pris le sairement
 Ki son pere servoient a son comandement ;
 Sauve l'onor sa mere, que de rien n'i mesprent.
 Li vallés duit sa terre, si se fist hautement
 60 Coroner, a ses homes faire asseürement.
 Tot çou que ses pere ot tint il entirement,
 Ainc n'en laissa avoir plain pié estrange gent,
 Se il ne lor dona molt amiablement.
 Bien sot tenir sa terre et amer france gent ;
 65 Ses amis fait de cels qui furent si parent,
 Frans homes a assis garder son tenement ;
 Onques sers n'aproisma a son consellement,
 N'ainc ne fist a franc home nul deseritement,
 A veve ne a orfene ne a petit enfant.

62 plain pié avoir—64 tiere tenir si fist droit iugement—65 fist—66
 N 7 assis—68 Nainc nama losengier felon ne souduiant—69 wanting.

- 70 **M**OLT tint en pais sa terre, c'ainc ni ot enconbrier,
 N'ainques n'ala a marce o son voisin plaidier;
 Si voisin le sentoient et orgellos et fier,
 Molt tint en pais sa terre, molt l'orent li sien chier.
 A un jor prist ses ciens s'ala el bois chacier,
 75 Chevaliers maine o lui qui ierent si maisnier,
 Et en haute forest fait il ses rois chachier;
 Après les rois s'en vont li chien et li bernier
 Et al renc d'autre part ierent li liemier.
 Tant ont alé cerkant for voie et for sentier
 80 K'il ont levé .i. cerf si grant comme aversier;
 .XIIII. brances ot en son son cervelier;
 Il le chacent a force par abai de levrier.
 De chiens i ot .ii. muetes, nel porent detrier;
 Ne pueent tant haper ne mordre ne pincier
 85 Ne li arcier tant traire as ars de cor manier
 Ne tot li veneor de lor espies lanchier,
 K'il onques le peüscent verser né trebucier.
 As rois en est venus, outre saut de legier;
 Ne crient mais veneor, fors est de lor dangier.
 90 Fuit s'ent si lonc qu'il n'ot mais nul cien abaier:
 Qui caut? quant perdus est n'i a nul recovrier.
 Rois Lotaires seoit sor .i. ceval corsier,
 Ki le cerf porsivoit, en sa main .i. espier.
 Tant le porsuut a force que vint a l'anuitier;
 95 Tos se fu oubliés por la bisse chacier
 Ne ne sot u il fu ne ne sot repaier,
 Ne maison ne voit nule u il puist herbergier.
 El bois se met ariere desos .i. fou plenier,
 La prist herbergerie quant il dut anuitier.
 100 Le frain oste au ceval, laist li paistre l'erberier,
 Et il le paist molt bien, car il en ot mestier;
 Ne dormi ainc Lotaires, ains se prist a vellier.
 Son espies et son cor et s'espee d'acier,
 Tot a mis dalés lui, car il en ot mestier
 105 Por leu et por ferain u por autre aversier,
 Ke il le truisse prest por lui com hom aidier.

70 A grant pais tint sa tiere ainc—71 a voissin en marce por plaid'r
 —72 Car si voissin le sieruēt—73 En pais tenoit—76 fait grois carrier—
 77 le groi vont . . . biesier—79 N fort voie et for—81 som le—82 abai
 par hucier—84 Nel porent . . . ne poindre ne—88 grois est venus si
 saut sus—90 que not kien abaier—92 Rois orians—93 puig—95 N Tost
 A T⁹—96 Ne savoit . . . ne sen sot—100 laille pestre e lierb'r—101 il i
 p.—102 dormi pas li rois—104 car sil en amest'r—105 Q' il le true
 praist N se il en a mestier.

- A**SSÉS pensa li rois com hom qui seus estoit;
 Son ceval garde pres qui volentiers paisoit,
 S'espee et son espiel u il molt se fioit.
 110 Li nuis passa issi descendi que le jor voit,
 Adont ne li caut plus en quel país il soit;
 Met la selle et son frain si cevalce a exploit,
 Retorner quide ariere, venir a son destroit.
 Trespasse bos et landes, ne troeve qui l'anoit;
 115 Il n'ot cien ne abai, borc ne castel ne voit.
 La caure leva grans qui forment l'agrevoit;
 Devers .i. mont s'en va dont il tres bien verroit
 .X. liues tot entor, se sor le mont pooit;
 Ses cevals lase molt, car travelliés estoit.
 120 Il estoit miedis et la caure anuoit
 Et lui et son ceval; li rois nient n'en pooit. 1^d
 Au pié de la montaigne uns bels caisnes seoit,
 Grans estoit et foillus et grant ombre faisoit;
 Bien peüssent .lx. chevalier sans destroit
 125 Seoir desous en l'ombre faire lor esbanoit,
 Et si ot un prael ki tostans florissoit;
 Il voit et l'arbre et l'ombre, l'ore soëf ventoit.
 Cil descent del ceval qui repos desiroit,
 Le frain oste et la selle au ceval qui suoit;
 130 Et li cevals se witre, car sa nature estoit,
 Dont saut sus et paist l'erbe qui soëf li flairoit.
 Rois Lotaires s'en va a la fontaine droit
 Qui devers Orian son sorgon enveoit.
LA fontaine estoit bele et clere et delitouse;
 135 Al fons avoit gravele qui n'ert pas anuiouse,
 Onques Tigris n'en ot nule tant presciousse.
 Cil fluns Tigris coroit sor terre gravillouse,
 La gravele estoit d'or sel quierent gens wisose;
 Mais iceste fontaine si est tant graciouse,
 140 Il n'a gravele al fons ne soit molt vertuose;

110 Lanuit passa issi tant *que* il le ior voit—111 caut puis—112 Mist
 son frain 7 sa siele—114 bos 7 haies ne trueue ki le uoit—116 li greuoit
 —117 Droit u's le—118 .X. liues enuïrō se sus mōter pooit—119 ki t.—
 120 Ja . . . caure mōtoit—121 *wanting*—123 biel onbre—124 Bien i
 peüssent sir.—125 7 iestre desous lonbre . . . estauoir—127 li uēs souef
 —131 ki ml't souef—133 Ki droit viers . . . ēuoioit—134 Li—136 *N*
 Onques tagus . . . *A* nule si—137 tagus—138 en iert dor . . . gent ou-
 souse—139 *N* si est tant grauillouse *A* par est si grasiouse—140 *N*
 tant u.

Diamans et metistes qui force ont mervellouse,
Topaces, electories, qui tant est gentius cose—
Toutes sont teles pieres qui cele aige ot enclose :
N'i a nule entaillie ne nule imaginouse.

- 145 Por çou furent la mises, que nus qui boire en ouse,
Ja tant n'ert travelliés que sa cars ne repose ;
De giste ne de fievre n'ert ja acoisonouse.
S'est hom qui eüe ait la male erite couse,
S'en front let de cele aigue qui est tant bone couse,
150 Sempres sera garis, ja n'ert tant angoissouse.

LA s'en vait rois Lotaires qui'st de bon escient,
Al riu leve ses mains et son vis ensement ;
Grant mestier en avoit car tot l'avoit sullen.
Adont lava sa bouce qui de halle li fent,
155 Et despoilla sa cote et vint sor l'erbe al vent ;
La s'est couciés a terre sor l'erbe verdoiant,
Et son cor et s'espee et son espiel devant.
La s'endort si com hom qui le laste avoit grant :
La nuit qui passee ert n'avoit dormi niant.

- 160 Ez vos une pucele cortoise et avenant,
De la grande montaigne vint illuec descendant.
Ne sai que sa biauté vos alaisse contant ;
Bele estoit et bien faite et de parage grant,
Et son manoir avoit ens el mont la devant,
165 Et puceles laiens por faire son conmant ;
Es cavernes del mont la ot abitement.
Venue en est aval el pre esbanoiant ;
Voit le roi la gesir s'esgarde son sanblant,
Si a coisi l'espee et le cor d'olifant

- 170 Et l'espiel qui bons ert, noëlés a argant :
Bien li sanble qu'il fust del parage vaillant.
Souavet marce l'erbe, ne va mie noisant ;
Voit le rai del soleil sor le vis descendant,
Poise li que li halles li va son vis ardant

- 175 (Neporquant hom hallé, jel tieng a avenant).

141 *N* ne *A* meture [?]
142 *A* insert: Rubins 7 esmeraudes 7 iaspes kist goutose—143 Trestout st' gentil pieres ki cel aige a enclosët—144 nesune entalle—147 o cuisenosse—148 Ne ia naura n9 hom sa car si de goutosse—149 Sil uient a la fontaine ki si est gloriosse—150 ne soit garie . . . si a—151 va oriens—153 le cors auoit suslent—154 del harle—155 despouille s. c. 7 v. sous l'arbre—156 sous—158 ki laste—161 la haute—166 mont auoit—169 Voit le ceval corsu—171 kil ert—173 sour sô.

- Sa mance qu'il avoit a s'espaulle pendant
 Li estent sor le vis por le soleil raiant,
 Puis se retrait ariere vers le ruisel corant :
 Ne vaut pas quivriier le chevalier vaillant ;
 180 Tant atent qu'a dormi, puis li vint de devant.
- L**OTAIRES s'espera si rejeta la mance :
 "Dex," dist il, " rois del ciel, donés moi hui quaance,
 Longement ai esté en cest bos en esrance ;
 Encor sui jo assez, ce me sanble, en balance."
 185 Saine soi de la crois u il a grant fiance
 Et puis reclainme Deu u il a sa creance ;
 Regarde la pucele, n'avoit si bele en France.
 "Pucele, si com Dex vos fist a sa sanblance,
 Si garde il vo cors et vo grant honerance ;
 190 Ce vos vient de grant cuer et de grant sapiance
 Que vos m'avés ci faite et aise et aombrance."
 "Sire," dist la pucele, " bien sanblés de vaillance,
 Mais ço wel jo savoir, par quele mesprisance
 Entrastes en mon bos ; ene fu ço enfance ?
 195 J'en porrai, se jo woel, molt tost avoir venjance ;
 Mi centisme arai tost a escu et a lance,
 Se je trovoie en vos ranprosne ne beubance.
 Ma terre est bien gardee si a grant porveance ;
 Jo ai homés assez qui sont de grant vaillance."
- 200 Lotaires li respont par grant humeliance :
 " Dame, com il aroit en vos plus d'onerance
 Et valor et bonté, et tant plus de soufrance
 Troverai jo en vos, jo i ai grant fiance.
 Ier porsivi .i. cerf tote jor par enfance,
 205 Grant et fort et ramu de .xiiii.ime brance ;
 Jel sivi jusc'al vespre si que par anuiance
 Ne m'en seuc retorer, ains fui en grant balance,
 Ke ors, leu u lion nen presiscent venjance
 De moi et de ma beste ; ce fust grant destorbance.
 210 Tote nuit fui el bois, l'espiel tinc par le mance ;

176 pendant—177 sour sō—178 Puis si se traist—179 uiolt p.
 cuirrier—180 cait dormit puis si li uiet—181 puis si senti la—182 caāce
 —184 coumest uis en balances—185 u toute est desperance.—189 Sire
 gart i. v. c. 7 uous doinst ounourāce—190 de hautece 7—195 puis bien
 . . . auoir ml't tost—196 esc9 7 a lances—197 reproce ne—198 N A
 terre A garnie—199 ē ma poissance—201 Dame si 9 il a—202 ualor 7
 noblaice—203 vous 7 iou i ai f.—204 Jou . . . toute ior—206 iuske al
 gues par pres que for uoiaice—207 soc—209 u de . . . grans mesestāce,

Et mes cevals paisoit herbe et foille en la brance. 2^b

Quant Dex dona le jor et je vi l'aube blanche,

Si restrains mon ceval si fui mains en dotance ;

Montai por cevalcier, aler a connissance.

215 Ne sai quel part je sui, ne ne quier pas beubance ;

Metés moi al chemin, pucele de vaillance,

Si porterai de vos bone novèle en France."

"DAMOISIALS, al respondre vos tieng auques a sage,
Moi sanble que ne dites ne orguel ne oltrage ;

220 Et nonporquant, amis, només moi vo parage.

Li miens pere fu rois et de grant vasselage,

.IX. cités m'a laisie quites en iretage ;

De .l. castels ai jo le segnorage,

Et quanqu'il i apent vient tot a mon servage,

225 Et voier et majeur tot rendent treüage."

Li danzels li respont qui fu de bon corage :

"Damoisele, je sui d'un molt lontan manage.

En cest bois ving chacier, si me torne a folage

Quant ersoir me perdirent mi home en cest boscage."

230 "Amis," dist la pucele, "bien sanble a vo corage

Que vos estes frans hom et de vaillant linage.

Avés encore prise feme par mariage

U amie esgardee d'aucun roial parage,

Que vos welliés avoir a oissor vostre eage,

235 Dont vos aiés enfans noris par segnorage ? "

"Naje, voir, damoisele, onques n'en oc corage :

Jo nen euc onques feme, n'entendi a tel rage.

En ciens et en oisiaus ai eü mon usage ;

Et quant mestiers me fu si refis vaselage,

240 Et s'ai gardé ma terre c'on ne m'en fist damage.

PUIS qu'avons commencié ci de feme a parler,

Se vos n'aviés ami, vaurieme nos amer :

Por vo valor qui'st grans vos vaurai honorer

Et tenir loiaument a moillier et a per,

245 Et de toute ma terre ferai dame clamer ;

211 ierbe fuelle—212 uic—*After 214 A inserts* : Mais encor sui entres
en grenor foruoiaçe—215 part aler tant ai de maiskeâce—219 dites des-
roi ne nul—225 7 iugeur 7 maiour—226-28 *wanting in A, which inserts* :
Ases al signorie pucelle france 7 sage—229 Mais kiersoir—231 soies
—235 Dont eussies *A inserts* : Ki tenist ap's v9 uré grant iretage—236
ni ai pas mō usage—237 Neuc encore onques—238 N ai use mō eage—
240 Si ai—242 naues ami uoriesme—243 quest—244 oisor—245 faire.

- Et les enfans qu'avrons vaurai bien ireter."
 Et respont li pucele: " Bien le voel creanter,
 Çou que vos avés dit ne fait a refuser ;
 Mais or vos plaise .i. poi de mes dis escoter :
 250 Se me prendés a feme, por voir vos puis conter,
 Vostre linages ert esendus outre mer
 Et jusqu'en Orient le verra on raïner."
 "C'est çou," ce dist li rois, " que tant puis desirer."
 "Escoute encore, rois, si m'oras d'el.parler :
 255 En la premiere nuit après notre espouser,
 Que vauras vraiment a ma car deliter, 2^c
 Jo te di par verté loiaument sans fauser
 Que tu de .vii. enfans me feras encarger :
 Li .vi. en ierent malle, et pucele a vis cler
 260 Iert li sietismes enfes, çou ne puet trespasser.
 Lasse ! moi, j'en morrai de ces enfans porter.
 Et quel talens me prent que jo m'en doie aler
 La u il m'estavra de tele mort pener,
 Mais que teux destinee doit parmi moi passer ?
 265 Et m'estuet travellier et tel mort endurer
 Por le linage acoistre qui ira outre mer,
 Et qui la se fera segnor et roi clamer.
 Encor te vaurai jo autre cose conter :
 Cascuns de ces enfans aura cisne d'or cler
 270 El col d'une caaine que bien porra mostrer ;
 A tot ço naistront il, jel vos di sans doter.
 Conmandés les enfans par grant cure a garder ;
 Quel part que vos soiés, u en terre u en mer
 U en pais u en guerre, vos en estuet pener."
 275 **O**R se teut la pucele quant ot dit son talent.
 Rois Lotaires oï molt bien tot son convent,
 Mais mervelle li sanble de cel anoncement,
 Comment tot ço poroit venir entierement.
 Il esgarde celi qui tot son cuer esprent,
 280 Promet li et otroie a amer loialment ;

248 ne uel iou de ueer—249 plaist—251 Nostres l. e. estendus—252 regner—253 Cest cosse dist l. r. *que* ie ml't puis amer—255 souper [?]—256 uoras gire a moi—257 loiaumēt *par* urete—258 enfanter—259 erent fil 7 p. au—260 t'sornr—261—264 *wanting*—266 acroistre—268 uerai—269 cais e. a. signe—270 col .i. caine ki—271 naisteront ie uous d. s. fauser—274 a grant cure g.—*After 274 A inserts: 7 se uous cou ne faites a duel ueres torner—275 ki 'ot—276 Li rois oriens lot oï ml't boinēmēt—277 tel—278 c'rtainemet—280 N Permet A o. samor 7 l.*

- Le menra avoec lui en sa terre a sa gent,
Aprés l'espousera com rois segnerilment.
De l'esrer s'aparellent tost et isnelement.
La pucele Elixo apela .i. sergent,
285 Samonie, sa pucele, qui'st de bon escient :
" Jo woel a vos parler, ça venés erranment."
Cele ist de la montaigne tost et isnelement :
" Je sui ci, damoisele, dites vostre talent."
" Samonie, enselés moi de rice afeutrement
290 Ma blanche mule isnele, et met le frain d'argent ;
Le poitral qui est d'or et fais molt ricement
Li laciés a la sele qui est d'ivoire blanc ;
Gardés que soit ferree et deriere et devant,
Et soient tot li fer u d'or fin u d'argent,
295 Mes escrits, mes forgiés, por porter ensement ;
Et metés i des reubes .vii. paire ensement,
Et mes aornemens que vos tenés sovent ;
Si faites .i. soumier del palefroi ferrent.
Vos meïsme en prendés tot a vostre talent."
300 Samonie, la pucele, ot molt bien et entent
Tot le voloir sa dame et son commandement ;
Revint a la montaigne fist aparellement
Molt rice a oes sa dame, a son oes ensement.
Prent .i. frain el tresor ovré d'or et d'argent,
305 Li poitrals est d'or fin alumés d'or luisent,
La siele est si vaillans que .iiij. Venissent
Ne l'esligascent mie de quanqu'il ont vaillant.
Li arçon et les alves sont d'un os d'olifant ;
La soussiele en estoit d'un paile'escarimant,
310 Dusqu'a la terre en vont quatre langes batant.
Ele prent .ij. escrits, met ens son garniment,
Dras de soie a vestir en grant cointoïement,

2^d

282 l'espouse (-1)—283 laler s'aparaut face hastiüemêt—*After* 283
A inserts : Car pour moi st' mi home ce dist li rois dolêt—284 Elyous-
se—285 Samaine—*After* 285 *A inserts* : Samaine cauenes ne demores
noient—287 .s.' nul delaïemêt—288 gmât—289 Samaine afeutres—290
Ma boune blanche mule metes le—291 Li poitraus i soit mis as cloquetis
pendant—292 siele diuore resplendant—294 Li fier en soient dor li clau
soient dargent—295 Mais e. aportes afaities ensement—296 de reubes
.vii. paires seulement—299 V9 mimes prendes .i. t.—302 Revient a. l.
m. fait l'aparaillemêt—303 avec sa—304 tresor a pieres ki resprent—
306 estoit si rice que .iiij. isme piersât—307 Pas ne lesgeroient de—309
N sorsiole—310 en ot—311 ses escrits m. e. ses garnimês—312 g. cort
ricemêt.

- Une rice coroië a pieres qui respent,
 .XII. pieres i a, cascune ki resprent,
 315 C'Adans avoit collies en .i. ruisel corant
 En paradis u Dex l'avoit fait ja manant.
 Afices et aniaus, ce n'oblia noient :
 Boistes a ongemens qui sont souëf flairant,
 Linaloës assés et ciers atornement ;
 320 Tot ço mist es escrins et carga sor ferrënt
 A l'ajue qu'ele ot d'un vertuos sergent ;
 Ele ot ausi meismes .i. ceval avenant.
 Quant ot aparellié, vint a sa dame errant.
 LIOXE fist monter li rois par cortoisie,
 325 Et il cevalce en coste a senestre partie ;
 Lioxe a aregné, par le resne le guie,
 Et Samonie cevalce avoec por compaignie ;
 Les le bos cevalcierent par une praerie,
 Por adrecier lor voie dont li rois ne set mie.
 330 Tant ont alé le sente les le voie en hermie
 Ke li rois voit les tors de sa grant manandie,
 S'en i avoit ne mais c'une liue et demie.
 Or a tant cevalcié, pres est d'une hucie,
 Met le cor a sa bouce dont douce estoit l'oïe ;
 335 Si a soné le cor que tote est estormie
 La cités et la tors, si saut sus la maisnie.
 "Oés la mon segnor," cascuns d'els tos s'escrie,
 "Montés, alons encontre si li faisons joïe."
 Si font il com il dient, poignant a une hie,
 340 Saluent lor segnor et il les en merchie.
 Sa mere vient encontre et il si l'a baisie,
 Et tot li chevalier a molt grant compaignie.
 Rois Lotaires lor dist : "Segnor, ne faites mie
 Joie ne feste a moi, mais a ma dõce amie.
 345 Jo l'ainc tant que çou est et ma cose et ma vie,

313 courone a p. ki resprent—314 cascune a u'tu grant—316 ia fait—
 317 noublie—318 *N* 7 o., *A* a ongemêt.—319 *N* 7 abosnes *A* 7 c'r muske
 liant—321 *A* laie—*After* 321 *A* *inserts*: Hanas i ot dor fin 7 rices
 coupes tât Cuelliers 7 escuieles rice uasselemât Q'tous en fust cargies
 li bois soumîr sâblât—322 Ele meismé auoit—324 Adont la fait môter li
 rois par cortresie—*After* 325 *A* *inserts*: Il a pris son espîel 7 le cor
 a loie—326 Eliousse apiela p. l. r. langue—327 *N* Sadonie *A* 7 la
 dame cevaue o lui par cortoisie—338 toute une p.—329 le voie que li
 rois ne sot—330 les le bos—333 ont ceuaciet a pres dune—334 dor estoit
 —336 cors—337 daus lor escrie—338 Montons—341 vint—345 ma ioie 7.

- Jo l'ainc sor tote rien, nel vos celeraî mie." 3^a
 Adont fu la pucele hautement recoillie,
 De tos les chevaliers jentement conjoïe.
 Des palefrois descendent, vont en la tor antie ;
 350 Sonent gigles viieles et font grant melodie.
 Rois Lotaires sor tos les enforce et aïe,
 Bien tient .c. chevaliers avoec lui de maisnie.
 Il mande dus et princes qu'a lui par conpaignie
 Viegnent tot a sa cort et si verront s'amie
 355 Qu'il vaudra prendre a feme, ne demoera mie.
 S A mere voit l'afaire et l'aparellement,
 Bien demostre en son fait tot son proposement ;
 Des noces s'aparelle et en mostre sanblant.
 D'une part l'en a trait si li dist son talent :
 360 " Bels flux, que penses tu ? nel fai sifaïement ;
 Tu ne prendras feme ensi soudainement :
 Jo te queraî oisor tot al los de no gent.
 Ci pres maint Anotars qui a grant tenement,
 Rois est de grant puissance s'a maint rice parent ;
 365 Et Michaël le duc et Rodain l'amirent :
 Andoi sont si cosin germain, mien escient ;
 Icil a une fille, damoisele vaillent,
 Jel te ferai avoir ; maintien toi sagement."
 " Que dites vos, ma dame ? tot çou n'i a noient ;
 370 Jo nel lairoie mie por plain .i. val d'argent
 Ke n'espeuse Elïoxe, la pucele al cors gent ;
 Por que Dex le me done, jo nel refus noient.
 Jo sui rices assez, car j'ai grant tenement ;
 Jo ne crien mes voisins por guerre qu'il movent ;
 375 Il n'ont parenté nule qui me viegne a talent.
 Ceste est et bele et sage et de bon escient ;
 Jo l'aim, jel voel avoir, jo l'avrai loïalement."
 " Bels fils," ço dist le mere, " tu ne prises nient
 Çou que jo te di ci de mon consellement."
 380 Quant assez ont parlé, a tant se departent.

346 riens par deu le fil marie—350 ghigles 7 harpes 7—352 auec caus
 —353 7 gtes o lui par—354 Kil uiegnēt a—355 prendre fenme—356 La
 —357 t'stout proposemēt—358 s'aparellēt tost 7 isnielemēt—360 ne fai
 —361 prendras pas fenme isi soutainemēt—362 ta gent—363 Anotaires
 —365 Tu marcisses o lui 7 soudant lamirans—370 .i. uau—372 Puis . . .
 ni a refusement—374 ne douc mes uoissin de geroier noient—376
 loeste est boune 7 s. 7 de biel—377 voiremēt—378 gen ai mō cuer dolēt
 —379 Ne tu ne feras rien—380 Atant st' departi andoi del parlemēt.

- Lotaires aparelle ses noces festeument ;
 Il mande les fievés de tot son tenement
 K'il soient a ses noces devant li en present,
 Et mande .i. arcevesque qu'il tenoit a parent :
 385 Gerars avoit a non. Cil i vient gentement
 A .c. cevalceurs ; molt maine bele gent.
 A cort vient al perron, del palefroi descent ;
 Vient al roi sel salue, li rois salus li rent.
 Main a main s'entretienent et vont el pavement
 390 Seoir sor une coute d'un vermel bougerent ;
 La li dist son afaire, ne li cela nient.
 L'arcevesques li loe, puis qu'il en a talent
 De feme avoir o lui, sel prenge loialment.
 Et li rois li respont : " Par Deu omnipotent,
 395 De lonc l'ai amenee si li ai en covent
 Loiauté de tenir par non d'espousement."

3^b

- L**A feste est plenteive et grans et segnoris ;
 La assanblent li prince de partot le país,
 Si vienent a la feste le roi qui'st lor amis ;
 400 Molt ot gent el palais qui fu de marbre bis.
 La sont li jogleor, cantent lais, notent dis,
 La lor donent li prince cotes et mantels gris ;
 Ki set dire u canter bonement est oïs.
 En la place as vallés et as escus vautis
 405 Desregnent l'uns vers l'autre lor valor et lor pris,
 Hurtent, luitent as bras ; s'uns en ciet s'a haus cris,
 Si ne puet eschaper sans molt grant hueïs.
 D'autre part sont li ors et li cien, .viii. u .x.,
 Ki la refont grant joie et grant pesteleïs ;
 410 D'autre part sont li singe qui lor font les faus ris.
 Tout issi a la feste s'est cascuns entremis
 Des plus bels gius a faire qui lor furent apris.
 El demain quant li jors fu auques esclarcis
 Et rois Lotaires est et parés et vestis
 415 Et li grans pules est en la sale acoisis,

381 ricemēt—382 *N* ses f.—385 Segars . . . noblemēt—386 *N* 7 .c., *A*
 ceuauceurs si—388 Vint . . . il son salu li rent—389 si u.—390 7 tout
 son erement—*After* 390 *A* *inserts*: Trestout li a gte ne li cela noient
 —394-5 *wanting*—397 plentiveus—401 gtent dis—403 sot . . . fu—404 la
 sale ot urarles ki as escus uotis—405 Deraissent—406 Lautre luitent
 a. b. suns ciet si a grans cis—408 li ciens u des ors—409 Ki laiens font
 grant noisse 7 grant pelestes—411 Trestout si a—412 *wanting*—414 7
 caucies 7—415 pulles est el palais reuiertis.

- L'arcevesques s'en va au mostier S. Felis
 Et s'est segnerilment a l'autel revestis.
 Li rois i est venus, bien a .lx. et dis
 De chevaliers, haus homes, princes, dus et marcis,
 420 Ki tot ierent vaillant, si les tient a amis.
 La pucele adestra li princes Anseïs,
 Et uns dus qui ot non Antelmes li Petis.
 Au mostier le menerent devant saint crucefis ;
 La font lor orisons, puis si sainent lor vis.
 425 L'arcevesques demande, qu'il estoient la quis.
 Rois Lotaires respont : " Bels sire, ciers amis,
 Je woel que me donés Elioxe al cler vis
 Et si le m'espousés tot al vostre devis ;
 Voiant vos li donrai, en non Deu douëlis,
 430 La tierce part del regne dont jo sui poëstis."
 Et respont l'arcevesques : " Tot ço est bien assis."
 Dont a prise Elioxe par les dois c'ot vautis,
 Si le dona Lotaire, et li S. Esperis
 Lor doinst joie et honor a lor vie todis.
 435 Après prent .i. anel qui estoit d'or masis,
 Si li a mis el doit *in nomine patris*
 Et el non del S. Fil et del S. Esperis.
 Puis a chanté la messe, et il fu bien oïs :
 Cil jors fu solenels partot et festeïs.
 440 Après messe commence feste et bohordeïs :
 On lieve les quintaines la u on fiert todis,
 Et jogleor i cantent et lais et sons et dis.
 Les viandes i sont en tos lius plenteïs ;
 Li rois done mervelles, siglatons et samis,
 445 Escarlates et vers, peliçons vair et gris ;
 N'i remaint a doner palefrois ne roncis :
 Nes d'or, coupes d'argent, c'est poi, ce li est vis.
 Il done fiés et terres a ses mellors amis,
 N'i a nul qui li ruist qui en voist escondis.
 450 **S**IET jors dura la feste qui bien fu commencie,
 Mais a l'uitisme jor fu auques departie ;

3^c

417 al most'r—418 .xl. dis—419 de princes de marcis—420 *wanting*—
 421 uns p.—422 antielmes—423 len . . . le c.—427 mespouses—428 me
 dounes—429 el non de iesu crist—430 resne—431 icou est—433 doune
 le roi—434 vies—437 esperit—438 fait le seruice—439 par trestout le
 pais—440 9mècent fiestes 7 bohordis—441 Ils lievent . . . todis—442
 Li . . . 7 sons 7 les—445 mantiaus pelicons gris—446 Ne—447 7 grans
 coupes—449 ki li soit escondit—450 que—451 witisme.

- En lor liu s'en reva li grans cevalerie.
 Rois Lotaires remaint ensamble sa maisnie,
 .LX. chevaliers de molt grant segnorie.
 455 Dont vint a Elioxe, sa douce ciere amie :
 "Bele suer," dist li rois, "la feste est departie
 Des sorvegnans qui vinrent, qui nos ont fait joïe.
 Or commence la nostre, Dex nos soit en aïe ;
 Desore mais ensamble deliterons 'no vie."
 460 Il se coucent ensamble quant nuis fu enserie,
 L'une cars conut l'autre, Nature nes oublie ;
 L'uns rënt l'autre son droit et font lor cortoisie,
 Qu'amors a estoré entre ami et amie ;
 Quant ont lor volenté et lor joie aconplie,
 465 Si n'est mais damoisele, ains est dame joïe
 Elioxe la bele, qui Dex doins segnorie.
 Andoi gisent en bras, ele s'est endormie ;
 Dont a songié .i. songe dont molt est esmarie,
 Qu'elle gisoit cœverte d'un espials de Rousie
 470 En .i. lit bien ovré a queuvre triforie.
 Li lis estoit covers de roses en partie,
 Des le moitié aval tos li lis enrougie,
 L'autre moitiés amont est de lis enflorie.
 Es roses vers les piés ot .vij. pumes mucies,
 475 Pumes de paradis que Deus a en baillie ;
 Ains hom ne vit si beles qui fust en mortel vie.
 Cele cose a sa mere ens es roses coisie,
 Toutes .vij. li toloit et enbloit par envie ;
 As .vi. colpoit les keues et la setisme oblie ;
 480 Nes giete mie puer, molt s'en est bien gaitie,
 Mais les pumes jeta en une desertie.—
 A cest mot s'esvella Elioxe s'escrie :
 "Lieue sus, rois Lotaires, por Deu, aïe ! aïe !"
 Rois Lotaires se lieue, celi a enbracie :
 485 "Sainiés vos, bele suer, que Dex vos beneïe,
 Et vostre ame metés tos cels en conmandie
 Ki baillent le cors Deu en la messe serie ;

3^d

452 tieres sen ua la—453 a mesnie escarie—*After* 453 *A inserts* :
 Non por qñt si auoit o lui grant gpagnie—456 *wanting*—462 trestout
 par cortoisie—464 de lor iu—468 Si—469 gu'te—470 a ouere—472 De—
 473 *N* le florie A de lie enflorie—477 coisies—478 Toutes .vij. li enbloit
 par enuie (-3)—480 gieta pas en uoies—482 en doute si sescríe—483
 Lieue sus orient—484 Rrois oriens se lieue si la fort enbracie—485
 Caues uous—486 Vostre afaire en ceus en coumandie (-2).

- Porqu'estes vos, ma douce, issi espaorie ? ”
 Cele a mal en sa teste, tote l'a estordie,
 490 El ne desist .i. mot, ki li donast Pavie.
 Cil le tint en ses bras comme feme espasmie,
 Il l'acole et si l'a en la bouce baisie ;
 Cele revint en sens, s'a memoire coillie.
 “ Douce suer,” dist li rois, “ jo vos ai enbracie ;
 495 Que vos est venu ? nel me celés vos mie :
 Ne soiés pas honteuse envers moi, douce amie.”
 “ Songe, sire, et fantosme m'ont ma teste espartie,
 Mais a Deu conmanç jou et mon cors et ma vie.
 Jel di a Damedeu et a Sainte Marie
 500 Et a trestos les sains qu'el ciel ont segnorie ;
 Tornés le moi a bien, si ferés cortoisie.
 Mes lis ert tos espars de flors en colorie,
 Et jo euc en ces roses .vij. cosetes mucie ;
 C'estoient .vij. pumetes dont l'abre fu florie
 505 La u Adans mest ja la premiere partie ;
 Et il en fu jetés par sa grant felonie.
 Se mes ot on tolus par molt grant estoutie,
 Et cil quis en porta retint en sa baillie
 Les keues, et les pumes jeta en terre ermie,
 510 Que mais n'en fust parole veüe ne oïe ;
 Les .vi. en jeta puer, et le sieme j'oublie.
 E ! Deus, que puet ce estre et ce que senefie ? ”
 “ Dame,” ce dist li rois, “ ne vos esmaïés mie,
 Dex vos confortera, qui töt a en baillie.
 515 .VII. pumes sont .vii. fil, dont Dex vos en delivre ;
 S'il est aucuns malvais qui de vos ait envie,
 N'oublïés pas por ço a mener bone vie ;
 Soïés bone aumosniere et tostans bien garnie,
 S'onorés sainte eglise et le sainte clergie ;
 520 Se veés de povre home la car mesaaisie,
 Tant li faites por Deu qu'elle soit raemplie ;
 Et se vos veés povre qui li fains enaigrie,
 Viande li donés tant que soit rasasie ;

489 ot . . . lot estormie—490 Q' né—491 esmarie—492 Si l'acole sel
 baisse & puis si lasaissie—493 reprent son cuer—494 ai en baillie—495
 ne me celer—499 Songes s. 7 fastosmes ma ma t. esparie—502 estoit
 espars de rose *N* ert—503 pumetes *N* mucies—504 Cou estoient .vii.
 pun döt larbre estoit fuelie—505 feie—507 Ses mes a on—508 ki les
 porta—515 .vii. don—516 cou ait—518 9 tötas bien en die—519 Ounores
 . . . 7 t'toute—521 aessie—522 uees pource home que li famine aigrie—
 523 aessie.

- Cels qui por Deu vos prient por Deu faciés aïe,
 525 Si arés gracie en terre et en ciel glorie et vie.

- D**OUCEMENT apaia Lotaires sa moillier,
 Qui molt ert effréé de le ente songier ;
 Il le baise et acole et fait töt son dangier
 Por là freor del songe del tot entr'oblier.
 530 Quant tant orent jeü jors prist a esclairier,
 Les jentius dames vindrent au lit esbandoier.
 Les autres font les bains por la dame aaisier,
 Del tot li font ses aises tant com ele a mestier ;
 Et li rois est levés, dont vindrent chevalier.
 535 En la chapele au roi fist on aparellier
 Et revestir .i. prestre por le devin mestier.
 Li rois i est venus por Damedeu proier,
 Et tot si compaignon o lui por festoier.
 Li prestre est revestus u il n'ot qu'ensegnier ;
 540 Messe del S. Espir qui töt puet consellier
 A commencié en haut, s'avoit fait sohaucier ;
 De canter et de lire fait ofise plenier.
 Li canbreleus le roi qui avoit le mestier
 Aporta son segnor .iij. ofrandes d'or mier,
 545 Ce furent .iij. bezant, c'est ofrande a princier ;
 Et a cascun qui est la venus al mostier
 A doné autresi .i. estrelin denier ;
 Et li rois est alés l'ofrande commencier,
 Et li autre s'en vont a lui acompaignier.

- D**ONT a on aporté .ij. bacins d'argent cler,
 550 U li capelains va por ses dois respaumer ;
 Puis a fait el calise pain et vin manister,
 Et aigue, com drois est, avoec le vin meller.
 Il entre en son service le cors Jhesu sacrer.
 555 Rois Lotaires qui la ert venus por orer,
 Il est agenoillies por mius humelier,
 Et ses mains lieve en haut si commence a penser
 Et dire de bon cuer por Damedeu loer :
 " Dex, qui plus iés poissans c'on ne puist deviser,

524 faites—525 ciel 7 è uie—527 kil ot ente songie—528 paor d. s. kil
 uiolt entrelaisie—530 geu kil prist—533 coume en a—534 viennent—536
 le prestre—538 N li c.—541 sauois a essauc'r—542 Del canter fait ofisse
 7 del lire mest'r—543 quen—544 A porte—547 doune pour ofrir .i. e.
 dorm'r—549 o lui—550 aportes—551 espau'm'r—552 apporter—556 por
 sorison crier—557 p^o dameldeu ore—559 est.

- 560 Qui nostre premier pere por ton non aorer
 Mesis en paradis, si li donas a per
 Et a moillier Evain por ensamble abiter ;
 Diables i ala por aus desirer,
 Mangier lor fist le fruit dont ne durent goster ;
- 565 Adont s'entreconnurent et virent nu ester,
 D'un figier prisent foilles por lor cars esconser ;
 Et tu i alas, Sire, a eus vausis parler :
 " Adans, u iés alés ? vien ça, ne te celer."
 Dist Adans : " Je sui ci, si m'a fait meserrer
- 570 Eve, que me donas a moillier et a per."
 " Por çou que mon conmant t'as si fait trespasser, 4^b
 Or t'en iras," dist Deus, " en autre terre ester ;
 De tes mains t'estavra desor mais laborer,
 Et Evain ta moillier en dolor enfanter."
- 575 Mort furent ambedoi, si les estut aler
 En infer u nus hom ne pot ainc reposer.
 Après lui en convint tos ses enfans aler,
 Kaïn, Abel et autres que jo ne sai nomer ;
 Noë et Abrehan, Moÿset al vis cler,
- 580 Tous les fils Ysraël, que on ne puet nonbrer ;
 Et Jessé et David et Salemon le ber.
 Dex, il t'en prist pitiés del danné restorer,
 La tiue gent vausis de torment ramener,
 Sagement le fesis por deable enganer ;
- 585 Dex, tu fesis ton fil en une feme entrer
 Par l'angle Gabriel, qui li vint a porter
 Ton message en l'orelle, et el le valt graer ;
 La parole qu'il dist tu li fesis entrer
 Par l'orelle ens el cuer et del cuer encarnier :
- 590 Cele cars devint hom, ainc ne s'en pot vanter
 Hom qui a li peüst carnelment deliter ;
 Ço fu contre nature, n ainc ne s en valt clamer.
 Nature, dont fesis tot le siecle estorer.
 Ele sent tant de bien, bien le valt creanter.

563 7 diables i uint—564 durent—565 Adonques se connurèt 7 v.
 nuesta—566 esgre'—567 Tu uenis a eus—568 garde ne me celer—571
 mas tout f.—572 errer—573 destoura ore m.—574 a d.—575 Puis moru-
 rent andoi—576 ais retorner—577 A. eus lor c. t. les—578 Cains abiel
 7 les autres—580 irael que il—581 Et iosep—After 581 A inserts :
 Daniel le profete ki ml't fist aloer—582 danneur racat'r—583 delivrer
 —585 u'gene e.—586 te u.—587 uot—592 uot—593 destiner—594 Ele i
 sot.

- 595 Cele cars devint hom, que la fesis entrer.
 Sens car assamblee, se t'i vausis celer
 En envers le diable por lui a dominer ;
 Car se il te seüst, ja ne t'osast tenpter
 Ne ne t'osast traïr ne faire en crois pener ;
 600 S'il nel te fesis faire, hom ne l'osast penser,
 Ne nus ne nos venist de la mort racater.
 Dex, tu te covris si qu'il ne te pot viser,
 Ne Juïf ne diable ne porent tant tanter
 C'onques en toi eüst soume, non al parler.
 605 Sire, en infer alas por les portes quasser,
 Tu en entras laiens por tes amis jeter,
 Et Adam et Abel, cel legier baceler,
 Noë et Abrehan qui tant pot désirer
 Que tu venisces la por els descaaner ;
 610 Et .c. mile milliers que jo ne sai nomer.
 Sire, çou fesis tu, bien le sai sans-douter ;
 D'illuec dedens tierç jor fesis apert et cler
 Ke tu estoies Dex et fesis susciter
 La car de mort a vie que tu laisas pener.
 615 De ta surrexion puet on assez parler,
 Ki les tesmoins en out oï sovent soner :
 Marien Madelaine, Pieron le claceler
 Et les .ii. pelerins qui mal varent aler,
 Et cels que tu rovas a destre part jeter
 620 La roît ; por ses poisons pres fu del depaner.
 De ta surrexion ne doit nus hom douter ;
 Tu alas et venis tes amis conforter,
 Ki ne s'osoient pas as Juüs demostre.
 Al jor d'Asention vausis el ciel monter,
 625 Tes amis n'oblias, ains les vausis tenser.
 La u ierent ensamble qu'il n'osoient parler,
 Trestos li plus coars devint hardis et ber ;
 Sains Pieres por l'ancele n'osa .i. mot soner,
 Devint li plus hardis, ainc puis ne valt cesser ;
 630 Il vint al cief del mont por le non Deu crier ;
 Prisons ne cartre obscure nè li pot estoper,

595 en cui tu uos e.—597 Q' gtre le diable pour lui adotriner—598 ti
 s.—600 wanting—603 iuis . . . deuisser—606 i e.—607 gentil b.—608
 ml't peurent désirer—610 .c. millr's des autres—611 fauser—612 Dil-
 lueques au tierc—614 Ten cors de—616-621 wanting—624 quel ciel
 vosis môter—626 La uinrent tou e.—630 môde—631 ne parteuire.

- La bouce ne desist ço que cuers puet penser,
 Dex, si com ço fu voirs c'on te puet reprover
 Toutes ces grans meruelles que m'as oï conter,
 635 Et jo le croi sans faille de bon cuer et de cler,
 Si me doinses tu, Dex, Elioxe ma per
 En cest siecle mortel tel vie demener
 Que tu daignes nos ames en ton conduit mener,
 Et sustance en cest siecle por nos honors salver ;
 640 Et le fruit de son ventre li laises tel garder
 Que ele en soit delivre por sa vie salver,
 Que on en puist le fruit en fons rengenerer ;
 Et le songe qu'a fait done en bien deviner.
 Dex, tu le nos otroies, qui nos as a garder.
 645 **L**I rois Lotaires a finee l'orison,
 Il a levé sa main si a sainié son fron,
 Si fait crois de sor lui a Deu beneïçon.
 A cel point dona pais et asolution
 Li clers qui a l'autel fist ministration.
 650 On parcant la messe, ne targa s'un poi non ;
 Li chapelains a fait del beneïr son don
 De son calise d'or entor et environ,
 Et li rois se saina des le pié jusqu'en son,
 Desci c'al bas qrtel qu'il tenoit sor le jon,
 655 Et del senestre espaulle dusc'al destre mohon.
 Dont s'en vont chevalier en la sale a bandon,
 Si commence la joie entor et environ ;
 Chevalier et sergant, jogleor et garçon,
 Tant maintiennent la feste, cascuns en a son don.
 660 **U**N jor sist en la canbre li rois, s'est porpensés ;
 Ses giestes et ses fais a trestos recordés :
 N'i remaint uns affaires qui ne soit ramembrés,
 Comment ses mariages avoit esté trovés,
 Et comment ele dist quant il estoit privés
 665 De li premierement, qu'il avoit engendrés

633 qme cest uoirs *que* moes ramenbre'—634 moes ragter—635 fin c.
 —636 doune biau sire—638 armes—640 sil v9 plaist si gard'—641 Q'le
 se puist encore a honor deliurer—642 Et con en . . . regenerer—643
 definir—644 ki tout as asaue'—645 define sorisson—646 si se fist
 benicon—647 *wanting*—648 Apries le douna—650 Or part cante le
 messe ni t. se p. n.—653 Le roi saina par grant deuossion (—2)—654
 Del ortail de son piet deseure le menton—655 *wanting*—657 7 la ioie
 qmence la sus ens el doignō—658 *N A Ch'r s. (-1)*—659 Tout—661
 iestres . . . ramenbres—662 remest nus . . . recordes—664 *wanting*—
 665 La nuit.

- .VII. enfans tos ensamble ; ses cors seroit finés
 Al terme de .ix. mois, quant seroit delivrés.
 De tos icés afaires s'est li rois recordés ;
 Encore en i ot .i. qui n'est mie obliés,
 670 Que cascuns des enfans estroit encaanés
 El col d'une caaine, a tot ço seroit nés.
 Il ne set s'il a nul des enfans engendrés,
 Por içou vaura il li termes soit contés
 En mois et en semaines et en jors tos només,
 675 Que ne soit uns sels jors qui en soit trespasés
 Des le jor que il primes prist de li delités ;
 Por ço est plus souvent en mason demorés,
 Ne cevalce pas tant com il a fait d'asés ;
 Si quident si voisin que il soit asotés
 680 Et que sa terre prenge qui vaura, de tos les.
 Mais de ço que il pensent est il assez remés.

- UNS rois paiens, Gordoces, a sa terre envaïe
 Et degasté sa marce par feu et par bruïe ;
 Tot maine a son destroit, aignels et bergerie,
 685 Vilains met en prison, il nes espargne mie ;
 Fors des castels a tote la terre mal baillie.
 Li clains s'en vient al roi et il molt s'engramie ;
 Il a juré son cief que ensi n'ira mie
 De ço qu'il li a fait et sa terre bruïe
 690 Et ses homes menés par sa grant estoutie,
 Et les avoïrs tolus ; n'en perderont demie,
 Trestot l'estavra rendre desi qu'a une alie.
 Mais il ne set qu'il face, que molt est aprocie
 Li gesine Elioxé qui est sa ciere amie.
 695 Li termes estoit pres, nel pot alongier mie ;
 .IIJ. semaines i ot, en doute ert de sa vie ;
 En balance ert ses cors de faire une aramie
 Envers le roi Gordoce qui'st plains de felonie,
 U il atende l'ore sa feme qui l'en prie.

666 se cou iert uerites—667 quesen doit deliurer—668 pœpenses—
 669 wanting—670 seroit—671 col .i.—673 tout cou—674 denomes—675
 Si que uns tous seus iors ni soit ia—676 sest a li abites—679 Cou dient
 . . . est—680 Q' sa tiere uora prenge ent de tous les—681 pense en est
 —682 g'ad oces—683 enuie—684 7 maine en—685 maine—686 del cas-
 tiel . . . mesballie—After 686 *A inserts*: As vilains a tolu ml't de
 gaegnerie—687 vint—688 quen si nira il—690 a si grât—692 de si a—
 694 La—695 wanting—697 a aramie—699 leure que sa femme li prie.

- 700 Il le met a raison, car grans destrois l'aigrie :
 " Conselliés moi, ma douce, grant mestier ai d'aïe ;
 Jo ai esté çaiens por vos en grant partie,
 Que jo ne cevalçai ne ma cevalerie ;
 Ici voloie atendre veoir la segnorie
- 705 Del fruit que vos portés, que Dex a en baillie.
 Or m'angoisse deça Gordoces de Palie, 5^a
 Si me destruit ma terre et met en desceplie
 Mes homes et mes gens dont li cuers m'asoplie ;
 G'irai vers lui a force et ma grans os banie,
- 710 Et se jo li puis faire conperer s'estoutie,
 De sa gent ferai plaine ma grant cartre en ermie,
 Prisons et raençons. Tot en vo commandie
 Jo vos lairai ma mere, dame Matrosilie,
 Qu'ele penst, del tot soit vo volentés conplie ;
- 715 Jo li pri com ma mere, rien ne vos entroblicie,
 Et s'ele vos corouce, mal feroit, et ma vie
 Seroit mais a tos jors a son oes defenie.
 " Mere, je vos en pri " (joint ses mains s'umelie,
 Baise les mains sa mere, moult doucement larmie),
- 720 " Por Deu, ma doce dame, or pensés de m'amie ;
 Quant jo venrai de l'ost et ma jente maisnie,
 Si ferons grant baudor et grant feste joie,
 Et on m'aportera .i. fil par segnorie
 Que j'avrai aussi cïer com mon cors et ma vie."
- 725 **E**LIOXE a oï, qui le cuer ot dolent,
 Et le plaint et le plor et le dolousement
 Que fait li rois Lotaires, et ele li consent.
 Ele l'en apela, si li dist belement :
 " Sire, grant duel avés de no department,
- 730 Volentiers demoriés, bien voi, a vo talent ;
 Vos irés en la marce si conduirés vo gent,
 Car se vos lor falés n'ont nul secoremment.
 Por Deu, proiés vo mere qu'ele n'oblit noient,
 Et por la vraie crois que quierent peneent,

700 *N* grant *A* que grâs besoins—701 *que* mest'r—702 *ml't* grant—703 ne fis c.—705 ait—708 ma gent—709 & a grāt—710 sa follie—711 cartre h'mie—712 raencon t. e. no—713 matabrullie—714 *Q'*le pense de uous uos volentes enplie—715 *gme* a mere riens ne u9 gtreddie—716 *7* se vos corecoit maus seroit *en* sa vie—717 de mamor departie—718 iointes mais—719 *7* sor ses mais la'mie—720 *wanting*—722 baudoire—724 *que*—727 rois a li *que* ele—728 *wanting*—729 mō—730 iel uoi—731 si aideres—732 les falies n. n. radoisement—733 dites uo—734 *wanting*.

- 735 Çou que de moi naistra qu'ele gart bonement ;
 Mestier avra encore, se Deu vient a talent,
 Et els et autre gent, s'il vivent longement."
 La mere vint a tant, ne s'atarga noient,
 Si a dit a son fil molt amiablement :
- 740 " Fiux, jo t'ainc autretant com moi, mien escient,
 Et qui tu ameras, amerai le ensemement ;
 Se j'ai de toi neveu, joie et devinement
 Avra tos jors de moi, et esbanoïement."
 " Dame, dist Elioxe, cil qui fist Moÿsent
- 745 Vos rende le bienfait que vos ferés l'enfant ;
 Mes cors vos est livrez, al Deu conmandement ;
 Sovent est avénu, meres ont tel torment
 Que de vie trespasent a lor enfantement."
 Lotaires voit le duel, nel pot plus longement
- 750 Souffrir ne endurer, va s'ent el mandement, 5^b
 Si mande .i. escrivent e il i vint erranment ;
 Et li rois li endite et mostre son talent,
 K'il face partot letres tant com sa terre estent
 A trestos ses fievés, qu'il viegnent erranment
- 755 Lui aidier et secorre, car mestier en a grant,
 Et qui demoerra sel conperra forment.

L OTAIRES fait escrire letres enseeles
 S'en envoie garçons par puis et par valees ;

- 760 Mandé tos ses fievés par totes ses contrees,
 Sor quanque de lui tienent en terres grans et lees,
 Qu'a lui viegnent a armes cleres enluminees ;
 Il en a grant mestier, car on li a gastees
 Et arses ses grans viles, destruites et perees ;
 S'amainent chevaliers, s'aront bones soldees :
- 765 Tot soient assemblé dedens .xv. jornees
 Al castel de Nisot as montaignes quarrees ;
 Ki de çou li faura, se il n'a bien mostrees

735 nestra mesgarle—737 *wanting*—738 avant sans nul atargement
 —739 *wanting*—740 9me meismement—741 cui t. a. ameraïlle—742 en
 toi ueu ioie 7 deuissement—743 Sen aurai a tous iors ioie esbanoie-
 ment—744 fist fiermament—745 7 lounor hautement—746 cors sera
 liures—747 N si nel mescroi nient—749 Q'apaines respasent de—750
 uaissent—751 *After* escriuent *N inadvertently repeats* ua sent from
 the line above. A tost 7 isnielement—753 si 9—754 que il vienent er-
 rant—755 sans nul atargement—756 demoera—758 Sen enuoie .c.—759
 lor c.—760 t. tieres 7 grâs 7 lees—764 sodoiers—765 .vii. aiornees—
 766 uisot.

- Ses essoines loiaus, s'ierent abandonees
 Ses terres, ses moisons en .i. feu enbrasees ;
 770 Et il sera encontre a bones gens armees,
 A .v.c. chevaliers a grans targes roees,
 Et atot .M. sergans, trestos testes ferrees,
 Sans les arbalestiers, qui feront places lees.
- LES lettres sont escrites et li corliu couroient
 775 Semonre ses fievés, que o lui en s'ost soient ;
 Vient as chevaliers qui volentiers les voient ;
 Il mostrent les seiaus et les lettres desploient ;
 Lisent et le besoigne le roi a lor iex voient,
 Al besoing s'aparellent et d'armes se conroient ;
 780 Li viel home d'eage de grant pitié larmoient,
 Li jovene sont tot liet, qui armes desiroient.
 Li jovene chevalier qui gaaignier voloient
 Enarment ces escus et ces haubers desploient ;
 Ces coïfes et ces cauces, trestot ensamble froient,
 785 Quierent lances d'osiere, fers de glave i emploient ;
 Garçon et escuier ces bels cevals conroient.
 Li ovrier qui d'alesne et de ponçon servoient
 Rekeusent et recloent les seles qu'il avoient ;
 Liment ces esperons, ces torsoires manpoient.
 790 Gambisons genellieres as fenestres pendoient.
 Tot portent chevalier, acontent et acroient ;
 Montent, vont s'ent al roi qui les lettres disoient.
 Vers les pres descendirent qui durement verdoient ;
 Li un lievent enseignes qui vers le ciel balloient,
 795 Li autre vont es pres, as cevals herbe soient ; 5^c
 La attendent l'uns l'autre jusc'al jor qu'atendoient,
 Que lor sire venist que il molt desiroient.
 .II. liues et demie de terre porprendoient,
 Si com les la riviere de longes s'estendoient ;

768 ensonges loiaus ierent—769 Se tiere 7 s. m. 7 en fu—771 A .dcc.
 —772 armees—773 Fors—774 N les corlius envoient A li coriu —775 7
 portent les saiaus u les lettres estoient—776 Isnielement sen uont gaires
 ne demoroient—778 Il lissent la besogne l. r. a l. iols—780 de age—781
 home st' lie N d'armes se desroient—782 nouuiel ch'r ki au gaag.
 corioient—783 armerent escus—784 tout ensamble froient—785 dosieres
 7 ces fiers i metoient—786 frotoient—787 Lorains font ki dalesnes 7 de
 poncôs ououroient—788 Racesment 7. r. ces—789 torsieres torsoient—
 790 port oient—After 790 A inserts: Haubregier escuier haub's esc
 uendoient—791 T. prennent c. acatent 7 cacroient [?]
 —792 nomoient—793 Ens es p.—794 gremôt b.—795 herbe—796 atent li uns—798 li si-
 res uenroit kil forment—799 con la riviere ert.

- 800 La atendent le roi, que point ne s'engramoient.
Li rois Lotaires vient, ne demeure nient;
 Li caïns enduroit tot arouteement
 .II. liues grans plenieres, si aloit ricement;
 Si portent fer et armes et cevals ensemement.
- 805 Quant cil qui es pres ierent le virent, erranment
 Vont encontre le roi, sel saluent molt gent;
 Lor service presentent al roi molt ricement,
 Et li rois les mercie et lor salus lor rent.
 A ses castels s'en va ses garnist sagement,
- 810 S'i laisse chevaliers, ça .iiij. xx. ça cent,
 Et serjans et viandes et armes a talent;
 Le marce a bien garnie, ne dote mais nient.
 Dont a mandé ses os que vieignent erranment,
 Car sor Gordoce ira vengier son maltalent.
- 815 En sa terre est entrés, a lui congié ne prent;
 Il art et bors et viles et castels et raient,
 S'est nus qui contredie, ne borc ne casement.
 Il met siege erranment et fait son sairement,
 Se il dedens .iiij. jors nel rendent quitement
- 820 Et il les puet tenir, il les pendra al vent;
 Ja ne aront proiere ne nul racatement.
 La paors qu'il ont grant les en fait laidement
 Fuïr fors des castels sans or et sans argent.
 Li rois prent les avoïrs, ne troeve quil desfent,
- 825 Et conmande a ses geudes c'on les tors acravent
 Et murs et fortereces et fosses ensemement.
 Bien est .xv. jornees en la terre a la gent
 Qui Deu n'aiment ne croient, ains sont paiene gent;
 Et truevent bien garnie la terre ricement,
- 830 Si les siut li carins qui aporte tostent
 Viande et fer et clau que tot ont en present.

800 qui p. m. se desroient—*After* 801 *A inserts*: Ml't a bielle 9pag-
 ne car il maine grât gent—803 bien pl. si ua rois—804 7 uiande e.—
 805-6 Quant cil des pres les ont ueu apiertement Montent en lor ceuaus
 tost 7 isnielement Le roi ont salue. biel 7 cortoisement—807 ml't
 deboinerèrement—808 Li rois les en m'cie—810 Si i met c. ca .xi.
 uins—811 ensemement—813 kil uienent erraument—814 Cor ira sor
 gradoce—815 Ens sa t. e. e. sans 9giet folement—816 7 uilles 7 cas-
 tiaus prent tout a son talent—817 9tretienne—818 Il li met tost le siege
 iure son sairement—821 nen auront—822 kil en ont g. l. e. font—825
 sa gent *que* on les tors crauent—826 f. brissent isnielment *N* Et tors—
 828 païen pullent—829 7 il trueue la tiere garnie—830 7 li carins le siut
 t'stout seurement—831 7 portent fiers 7 glaues ki.

- S'i sont li chevalier qui le cemin gardent.
 Païen s'en sont fui en Artage le grant;
 Ce est une cités que on tient a vaillant,
 835 Fremee est de bon mur et d'une aigue corant;
 Remise ot a non l'aigue qui les va açaignant.
 En mer cort de ravine et si va molt brüient;
 Ele porte navie, par la vont li calant
 Ki portent les mesages an Perse al roi soudant.
 840 .IIIIJ. bras par deriere et .iiij. par devant, 5^d
 Vait l'aigue en la cité, ensi le vait fermant;
 A cascune a bon pont et carniere tornant,
 Et une tor molt haute de marbre tot luisant;
 Loges i a entor qui sont joint a ciment,
 845 Si a .c. arbalestes a puelie tendant,
 Et .c. arbalestiers molt rices fiés tenant;
 La ne puet nus passer qui de mort ait garent,
 S'il n'a en la tornele ami et conniscent;
 Ce sont les avangardes de la cité devant.
 850 Entor la cité ot aigue douce corant,
 .IIII.C. piés a de le deseure ens el naisçant,
 Et li mur i sont le après en açaignant,
 Et de .c. piés a altre a une tor levant,
 Masice, de hautece, une lance tenant,
 855 Teus .v.c. en i a por la vile esforçant;
 Cascune a .v. tonels de .c. haubers tenant;
 Tot entor a gisarmes et grans haces pendant,
 Et ars et arbalestres, et quarials i a tant
 Que de la grant plenté ne trovrés voir disant;
 860 Borgoï a en la vile qui sont d'avoir manant,
 Bacons et pois et feves, et bon vin, et forment
 Ont; dusques a .vii. ans ne lor fauroit nient,
 S'il n'en croisoit en terre .i. boistel ne plain gant;
 Si en avroient il a oes tote lor gent
 865 Qui laiens esteroient lor cité desfendant,
 Dont i a .xxx. mile trestos armes portant.

832 bachelier qui les chemins garent—*After* 832 *A inserts*: Q'païen
 nes sousprenent ne mainent malament—835 boins murs—836 Remisse
 a a n.—839 en perse roi sodât—841 a la—842 7 caine—843 ml't rice d.
 m. escarimant—844 L. a 7 tourieles tout entor a cainât—845 polies—846
 de rices fiés—848 toriele a. u—850 a aïge parfonde 7 grât—851 *N* deure
A laissant—852 m. en sont haut—853 autre a toriele—854 Masieres . . .
 destât—855 *N* par—856 *N* notels *A* touniaus—857 maces—862 Ont il
 duske a . . . faura—863 .i. bouciel tenât.

- La sont venu trestot li paien afuiant
 De .xv. grans jornees querre de mort garant.
- 870 ROIS Lotaires porsiuat paiens a grant effroi,
 Il les chace si fort qu'il les met a desroi;
 Il a Deu en aïe, de qui il tient sa loi.
 Il monte une montaigne s'esgarde desos soi,
 Voit le cité d'Artage, le fierce, le bufoi,
 Et vit qu'ele iert molt fors, s'apiele en suen secroi
- 875 Les bons engigneors Nicolas et Joifroi:
 "Apelés vos ai ci, segnor, par bone foi.
 Baron, ceste cités (si lor mostra al doi),
 Pensés comment jo l'aie, jo voel grever le roi;
 De l'avoir qui ens est, si com je pens et croi,
- 880 Aront no soldoier soldees et conroi.
 Faites moi ma besoigne, si vos metés en moi;
 Jo ferai a vo gre par verté et par loi."
 "Sire," dist Nicolas, "se Deus garist Joifroi,
 Nos ferons tel engien laval en cel jonqoi
- 885 De coi nos abatrons d'Artage le boufoi."
- LI rois ne valt avant nule maniere aler,
 Ains fait par tote l'ost et banir et crier
 K'i se logent aval; dont oïssiés corner
 Plus de .c. mile cors et buisines soner.
- 890 Cascuns fice son tref quil sace u asener;
 L'autres fice une lance, sel laise venteler
 Et balloier l'ensegne; li autres va forer,
 Et li autre se painent des cevals conreer,
 Et li autre as quisines font le feu alumer,
- 895 Et font les fus saillir des faisius ahurter.
 Li chevalier de pris alaiscent cembeler
 Volentiers a la porte, s'il peüssent mener
 Cevals ne traire en destre por sor els conquerer;
 Mais li marés est grans, n'osent por affondrer.
- 900 Neporquant si i vont .xx. legier baceler
- 869 desroi—870 si pries . . . en esfrois—871 7 dieu a—872 m. esgarde
 —873 Le grât cite dartage le fierte—874 N un s. A Il uoit *quele est*
 ml't f. s. e son recoi—875 nicollai 7 giefroi—876 Apiele—877 Vees ci
 la cite—878 lor r.—881 sor moi—882 par le foi *que* uous doi—884 laual
 —885 Par—886 uiolt—887 sost—888 Q'—889 xxx—890 Il ni a cel ki face
 a son tret a [*rest of line effaced*]
 —891 N sel saise A kil laise—892
 autre uont—894 as esquiers uont le—895 Si f. le fu s. d. fusiaus—896
 celebrer—898 pω cōrois—899 marois . . . pω lesfondrer—900 li legier.

Tant que il porent si dure terre trover
 Que lor ceval les puisent sans enfangier porter ;
 Et si font une esciele de chevaliers armer
 Qu'il font en .i. saucoi mucier et aombrer,
 905 Que se mestiers lor est, qu'il s'i poront fiër.
 Cil s'en vont dusc'as pons, il les ont fais lever ;
 N'i a mestier cenbels, nes en porent jeter.

ASSEZ ont cembelé, mais n'i porent rien faire,
 Ne de cels de laiens nes .i. sol ça fors traire ;
 910 Car s'il venissent fors ce lor peüst molt plaie,
 Ne ja tant n'en venissent en place ne en aire
 Qué il nes ocesissent sans crier et sans braire.
 Por mius estre fremé ont il fait lor pons traire,
 N'ainc a mur n'a fenestre ne troverent viaire.
 915 El retor se sont mis li chevalier Lotaire ;
 Por ço ne remanra ne lor face contraire,
 Car s'il ne puet par force, l'avra par engin faire.
 Il mande. Nicolas, et Joifroi qui ert maire,
 Que onques mais ne finent de lor engiens portraire,
 920 Si aient abatu de lor gent deputaire
 L'orguel et le boufois qui si lor puet desplaie ;
 Et il mandent ariere par une nef corsaire,
 Feront il ens entrer par desos la tor maire,
 S'il velt et boin li est mon segnor roi Lotaire.

925 **P**AR desous la cité bien a liue et demie
 Avoit par mi .i. mont une molt grant trencie ;
 Toute l'aigue qui cort par la cité garnie
 Et devant et deriere, qui iert en .viii. partie,
 Trestote rasambloit par mi la prairie
 930 Et par mi un boscet de sapin qui verdie ;
 Toute s'en passe la, sous la roce naïe,
 Si que la avoit rente de treü estableie
 De tous avoirs passans qu'i viennent a navie.
 La s'en ala Joifrois, il et sa compaignie,

6^b

901 T. com il peurent—902 lor p.—904 *N* Q'il font .i.—905 puisent—
 906 fait—907 puent—908 ont il cenbiel ais ni—909 ceus la dedens—911
 uenist ne en—912 *wanting*—913 fremee . . . mostrerent—915 Cil retor-
 nent ariere ki el nen puent faire—916 facent—917 *N* puent *A* f. il uiolt
 —*Aster* 918 *A inserts* : Prie lor par amor que sil puent rien faire—919
 Q' il ne finent mais de lor engien p.—921 Le bufoi 7 lorguel—922 m.
 au roi *que* u. *N* nef font faire—923 Feroient il aler par desor le tor—
 924 jou ferai cest affaire—925 liu—926 tencie—928 ki *est* *N A* .v.—930
 boskiel de sapins—931 passoit—932 al passage e.—933 a. uenans *N*
 qui i vient.

- 935 Bien ot .c. carpentiers, cascun hace entesie ;
 Le boschet abatirent trestout a une hie,
 Tos les arbres esmondent, ostent la ramellie
 Et loient par faisiaus, ainc n'i remest bracie ;
 Les gros ciés aguisierent trestot en esquarie,
 940 Et puis s'i fônt le feu, s'ont la pointe bruie.
 Dont le laisênt floter ausi comme navie,
 Et l'aigue les en porte dessi qu'a la trencie
 Qui iert entre .ij. mons, la l'ont sus resacie.
 Dont s'en vont bien .lx. et quatre a une hie,
 945 Qui hient les mairiens en la terre et engue,
 Por faire bone escluse, que l'aigue ne past mie.
 .II. renges fônt de pels et en mi ramellie,
 Et si l'ont bien de terre et caucie et foucie,
 Nes l'erbe ont aportee d'aval la prairie,
 950 Et si ont de la roce colpee et detrencie
 La pierre issi tres grande c'une ne traitroit mie
 Uns cars a .x. cevals, por tot l'or de Pavie.
 Or est l'escluse faite et tres bien sospoie ;
 L'aigue ne pôt issir, s'ert la valee enplie.
 955 Li rois i met .m. homes, par terre et par navie,
 Boins bacelers et jovenes plains de grant aatie,
 Qui garderont l'escluse, que ne soit desgarnie.

- O**R s'en reva Joifrois ariere al roi parler :
 " Sire rois, nos estuet cest altre bois colper,
 960 Et faire une autre escluse por la cité grever.
 " Or va," ce dist Lotaires, " fai tost, ne demorer."
 Cil vait a grant compaignie por le bos carpenter ;
 Caisnes abat et faus fait a terre verser,
 Et a faites les ais et lignier et doler ;
 965 A poi et a estoupé les fait joindre et cloer :
 .XX. piés a li planciés qu'il a fait estorer,
 Et a .iij. piés de haut le fait entor bender ;
 De tels planciés fait .xx. qu'il fera jos floter,
 Es .x. a fait desfenses por les cors aombrer
 970 De chevaliers q'iront la bataille endurer ;

942 desi a le marcie—943 *est* e. .ii. m. puis lôt—944 cent v.—945 aguie—948 bien tiere 7 c. 7 fouie—949 De lierbe i ont porte deuant—
 951 Les pieres isi grandes—953 7 bien *est*—954 *nen* puet—958 arierere
 —959 S. r. encor uel c.—961 tos—963 A Kenes a. 7 f. a tiere fait *N*
 font—964 Fenles 7 sen fait ais 7 si les fait d.—965 poit 7 a estoupes l.
 f. j. 7 fierer—968 plantes . . . 19 f.—969 *N* lor c.—970 Des c. k. seven.

A cels dedens iront, se mestiers est, capler.
Et baus fait aguisier, por faire as murs hurter,
Encontre coi li mur ne poroient durer
Ne les tors desfensables u on les puist mener.

6°

- 975 Après fait une escluse sel fait bien enterrer,
De gros mairiens entor ficier et passoner,
De pieres et de rains bien kaukier et presser,
Que nule fuisons d'aigue ne puet oltre passer.
Dont fait totes les nes del país aüner
980 Et joindre l'une a l'autre bien forment et serrer.
L'eve croist et le val veïssiés araser.

Joïfrois en est venus devant le roi ester :

"Sire rois," dist li il, "faites vo gent armer,
Chevaliers et serjans lor cors bien conreer."

- 985 "Bien as dit," dist li rois ; dont fait .i. cor soner ;
Après le cor a fait par tot son ban crier,
Que tost voient as armes mescin et baceler ;
De cors et de buisines font tot le val trembler.
Joiant s'en vont et lié, por l'avoir conquerer
990 Ki est en la cité que on ne puet nonbrer.

ARMÉ sont chevalier et bien et noblement
Por aler en bataille contre paiene gent ;

Arbalestier sont mis as baotes devant,
Et li chevalier sont rengié siereement ;

- 995 Serjant et escuier aficierent forment
Qu'il lor feront assez de mal et de torment.
.V. escieles ont fait, en l'aigue vont najant ;
Al harnas sont remés bien chevalier .v. cent,
Qui gardent les cevals et maint bon garniment.

- 1000 Joïfrois vint a l'escluse et si serjant aranpent
Et conduisent les baus aguisés par devant
Ki as fors murs d'Artaje ferront premierement ;
Et l'aigue les en porte tant ravinousement,
Ja n'i eüst il baus ne altre engignement,

- 1005 Que fors seulement l'aigue qui cort a grant torment

971 7 a caus de laiens se—972 wanting—974 enu's aus arieste'—977
N pierens—978 puist—979 N ariuer—980 fiermement siere'—981 tout
raser—983 dist ioïfrois—988 crosler—990 que nus—After 992 A has:
Mescin ne baceler ne dormoient nient As baotes st' mis li arcier coie-
ment 7 li arbalaistrier ki traient durement—995 sera ficient—996 Ki lor
—997 de lor gent—998 As tentes—1000 il 7 toute sa gent—1001 Si c. l.
b. u's les murs sagement—1004 bauc—1005 fort . . . si roidement.

- N'aresteroient il, ne duerroit noient.
 Quant l'aigue vint as murs ne laise nes crevent,
 Trestot le premier mur que il vait consivent ;
 En la cité s'espert et noie tant de gent,
 1010 Nes poroit on nonbrer par nul enbrievement,
 Nus escrivens qui soit par nesun escient.
 Cil qui ierent as tors et el haut mandement
 Quidoient par desfense avoir boin tusement ;
 Mais cil qui les grans baus aloient conduisent
 1015 Hurtent si fort as tors, toutes les estroent,
 Et l'aigue qui ens entre noie avaine et forment.
 Les garnimens qui flotent reçoit on voirement,
 Mais de la gent qui sont noié a tel torment
 Ne vos puet clers conter, ne jogleres qui cant, 6^d
 1020 Les cens et les milliers qui sont mu et taisant,
 Dont l'arme en est partie ne mais ne sont vivant ;
 Et femes et enfant et la menue gent,
 Car il en ont premiers le martiriement.
 Maint quident eschaper et fuir en noant
 1025 La u la gens le roi, qui tos jors vont najant,
 Les noient, si les traient et fierent maintenant
 U del arc u de glavie, ja n'en aront garant.
 Auquant se rendent pris et vont merci criant,
 Mais n'en eschape nus, se ço n'est amirant
 1030 U princes u casés de rices fiés tenant,
 S'il en laient nul vif, u rice home granment.
TOUTES les .v. eschieles sont en la vile entrees ;
 De bones gens i ot tos juvenes .x. navees,
 Et voient cele gent piesmement tormentees ;
 1035 Les unes flotent sus, l'autres sont affondrees,
 L'unnes traies par mi, les autres espees
 D'une glavie par mi ; i sont molt malmenees.

1006 duroient—1007 uint . . . ne atent—1008 Tout le premerain balle
 abat deliurement—1010 Nus nel poroit nôbrer—1011 *wanting*—1013
 Voient par la cite le grât detruisement—1014 les bas a cordes—1015
 esfroent—1016 Li aighe ki entre ens noie auai—1017 *wanting*—1019
 puet nus le nôbre uraiement—1020-1 *wanting*—1022 De fenmes et den-
 fans et de—1023 Cil ont primes recut le martiriement—1024 Mais teus
 cuide . . . a garant—1025 Q' la gent orient ki partout ua nagat—1026
 u les fierent 7 liurent a torment—1027 7 li plusor escrient mierci ml't
 hautement—1028 st' pris a force et loi durement—1029 se ne st' amir-
 ent—1030 U haus princes cases de rice tenement—1031, 1033 *wanting*
 —1034 A grees N piesmemement—1035 A floter amôt autres s. es-
 fondrees N laurres—1036 A Li un st' trait parmi 7 li autre despees
 N espees—1037 De glaues 7 de lances isi st' m.

- Bien ont aval la vile de tors .c. effondrees ;
 Venu sont al dongnon et as fenestres lees,
 1040 Quierent de chevaliers armes bien apretees ;
 La sont li chevalier, les testes bien armees,
 Si sont prest d'endurer grans estors et mellees.
 Cil de sous traient la saietes empeeues,
 Assez les ont la sus soufert et endurees.
 1045 Pels assés lor lancierent s'ont los nes effondrees,
 Et fait molt grans damages de bones gens loees.
 Une navee en muerent qui d'armes sont penees,
 Il et tote lor nes en est a terre alees ;
 Li fers les trait aval, la sont acouvetees :
 1050 Or se resont les gens roi Lotaire grevees.
Li assaus est remés si se traient arriere,
 Consel prenent qu'il voelent en plus forte maniere
 Assaillir le donjon ; il n'ont point de perriere,
 Mais il feront hurter et devant et deriere
 1055 Des baus qu'il ont agus a la grant tor pleniére ;
 Et s'il est hom la sus qui mece fors sa ciere,
 Arbalestier traïront de lor arbalestriere.
 Or vienent hurteor plus isnel de levriere,
 Si hurtent a la tor que ce lor est a viere,
 1060 A cels qui sont la sus, qu'il soient en crolliere
 De pret u de marois. A tant mostra sa ciere
 Li niés le roi d'Artage par une baotiere,
 Bien a la teste armee et d'elme et de coifiere ;
 Et uns arciers l'avise qui tres parmi l'uelliere
 1065 Le fiert ens el cervel qu'el haterel deriere
 Li parut li quariaus, et il ciet sor le pierre.
 On li sece le flece qui fu de fort osiere,
 Li fers est remasus ens en la cerveliere.
 On li a osté l'elme et la coife doubliere, .
 1070 Et après le hauberc dont la maille est d'ormiere ;
 Puis le coucent tot mort de lonc sor une biere.

7^a

1038 ot . . . de .vii. c.—1039 ki bien fu fenestres—1040 Si st' li ch'r
 darmes bien N arestees—1041 uont—1042 Apris sont d. gras 7 estors—
 1045 N arses—1046 Euous . . . boune gent armees—1047 muert ki dames
 —1049 traient ens—1050 Le sentent . . . orient ml't—1053 al doignō—
 1055 gât tor de pierre—1056 laiens—1057 traïroient d. l. abalestrie—
 1058 N viegnent A que l.—1062 bautiere—1063 ot sa t. a. 7 daub'c
 7 de coifiere—1064 lumiere—1066 7 tres en mi sa ciere—1067 ert—
 1068-9 wanting—1070 Apries . . . dobliere—1071 en u.

- LORS est li niés le roi molt a grant destorbier,
 Car il n'avoit laiens nul mellor chevalier ;
 Se il fust crestiens molt se peüst proisier.
 1075 Li rois fait molt grant duel, n'i ot que corecier.
 "Segnor baron," fait il, "savés moi consellier ?
 Nos serons çaiens pris encore ains l'anuitier ;
 Ne gart l'eure que voie ceste tor trebucier.
 Rendons nos a cel roi, soions si prisonier ;
 1080 S'il velt de nos avoir ne argent ne or mier,
 Nos l'en donrons assez, tot plain son desirier ;
 Nos cors et nos avoires metons en son dangier."
 "Sire," ce dient il, "bien fait a otroier ;
 Dites qui vos volés faire au roi envoier."
 1085 "S'il n'est autres quil die, faites moi messagier,"
 Dist uns clers qui iert la, qui se fait latimier ;
 Clers estoit de lor loi, molt set bien fabloier.
 "Alés," çou dist li rois, "dites le roi Lotier
 Que jo desir a lui par trive plaidoyer
 1090 Et par non d'acordance ; alés sans atargier,
 Prendés la une targe sel faites cloficier
 Une crois d'un blanc drap por plus tost apaier.

- CIL s'en monte en la tor es haus quertials en son,
 Si ot la crois pendue et traite en son blazon.
 1095 Il ot la teste armee, si cria a haut ton :
 "Oiés ! oïés ! segnor, une fiere raison ;
 Ciesés, ne traiés mais, ne hurtés al donjon ;
 Trives mande mesure al roi de grant renon
 Par non de fine acorde, s'atorner li puet on."
 1100 Li rois vient cele part, qui'n a oï le son ;
 Le retrait fait soner, que bien l'entendi on.
 Onques puis ne hurterent a quarel n'a perron,
 Ne ne traist d'arbaleste par nesune ocoison.
 Ço dist li latimiers, qui estoit el donjon ;
 1105 "Oiés ! oiez ! segnor, une fiere raison :

1073 norent—1074 fesiset a p.—1075 u na que—1076 A dist il laissies
N faves—1077 serons encor pris çaiens ains—1081 donrorôs—1082
wanting—1083 cil—1084 *que* v9 uores a cel roi—1085 si nest a. kel—
 1086 la est—1087 sot—1088 d. l. sans dagier—1089 parler 7 acointier—
 1091 ufe (*vacant space for cloficier*)—1092 de blanc d. por son cuer—
 1093 Il . . as haus ce'tiaus—1094 Si a pendu le crois por traite en un *N*
 bazon—1095 a hautô—1096 Avois segnor uous nous feres raison—1099
 a lui n9 renderons—1100 *N* q'n A ki—1101-5 *wanting*.

- Li rois qui çaiens est a Lotaire par non
 Et si conpaignon tot se renderont prison,
 Que il salves lor vies viegnent a raençon.
 Del lor poés avoir maint marc et maint mangon, 7^b
 1110 Si en laisiés aler lor cors a garison;
 De tot l'or que prendrés ne donroit .i. boton,
 Car plus vos en donra que ne conteroit hon.
 Or responde li rois si die, et nos l'oron."
 Avant se traist li rois sos l'escu au lion,
 1115 Ja parlera en haut, qui qu'en poist ne qui non.
 "Latimier," dist li rois, "ja n'en conselleron,
 Di ton segnor, avant qu'il gerpisce Mahon,
 Et tot si conpaignon si croient en Jhesum
 Et demandent batesme, et nos lor otrion
 1120 Trestot communalment et vie et raençon;
 Et se faire nel voelent ja nes deporteron
 Que ne raient l'asaut a force et a bandon,
 Et vo tor abatue, et eux pendu en son."
 1125 **D**IST li latimiers, "Sire, ariere voel aler
 De vostre mandement a mon segnor parler;
 Mais tant que jo irai, faites trives doner."
 Cil vient a son segnor les noveles conter:
 "Sire, se vos volés ariere dos jeter
 Mahon et Apollin, et Jesu aorer,
 1130 Si vos faites en fons batisier et lever
 Et tot cil qui ci sont, vo domaine et vo per,
 Sauve vo raençon vos en laira aler;
 Et se vos ne volés cest afaire graer,
 Il fera vostre tor trestote defroer
 1135 Et a .i. haut pignon vos trestos encroer."
 "Par Mahon!" dist li rois, "molt velt cil hom derver,
 Qui ne velt espargnier roi ne prince ne per.
 Qu'en loés vos, segnor, des vies rachater?
 Volés laisier Mahon et Jesu aorer?"

1106 Vien a moi dist li rois si li cie a haut tō—1107 rendent en—1108
 Car por sauuer l. v. uienent—1110 les c.—1113 respōge l. r. 7 d. 7 n.
 lorons—1114 a lescu—1115 parlera li rois—1117 gerpise—1118 7 tous
 ses 9pagnōs kil—1119 demagent . . . lotrierons—1121 uiut—1123 uos
 tors abatues—*After* 1123 *A inserts*: U en aige courat t'stous les
 noierōs—1124 ariere en uel—1131 demai—1132 sa r. v. e. fera raler—
 1133 v9 ceste cosse ne uoles c'eanter—1135 7 si v9 fera tous au gibet
 en cuer—1136 Por . . . uiut se cil hō d'uer—1138 Se les os no signor
 uolies r.

- 1140 U tost faire, u laisier, n'avons que demorer."
 On a mis le respons sor Faburon l'Escler.
 Dist Faburons: "Segnor, ne nos fesist fauser
 Mahon por nule rien, s'il nos vausist amer;
 Il nos a fait çaiens laidement enconbrer,
 1145 Et nos donrons sa teste, qui'st de fin or et cler,
 As cresttiens la fors por vie rachater,
 Et qu'il nos facent tos a lor deu racorder.
 Alons, rendons nos armes, n'avons que detrier."
 Il deslacent lor elmes d'acier poitevin cler,
 1150 Et les coiffes de fer font ariere jeter,
 Et les espees nues devant lor pis porter.
 .I. puestic ont overt par u voelent passer;
 La prent li rois d'Artage Lotaire a apeler:
 "Rois, jo vieng ci a vos, mi demaine et mi per, 7^c
 1155 Nient por autre cose mais por merci crier,
 Se toi plaist et bon t'est por nos vies salver;
 Se tu raençon vels, assés en pues conter."
 Rois Lotaires respont: "Batisier et lever
 Et enoindre de cresseme et tos crestieher,
 1160 Et quanque vos porés a batesme amener
 Vos convient, se volés vos vies rachater;
 Et qui çou ne fera, de la teste a couper
 Sera trestos seürs, ne s'en pora douter;
 Ça vo main, sel volés plevir et creanter."
 1165 "Oje, sire, tenés m'espee d'acier cler,
 Et ma foi dont je doi Jhesu Crist aorer."
 Autretel font li autre, ne l'osent refuser.
 "Or rendés," dist li rois, "les tresors qu'amasser
 Avés fait es escrins, et l'argent et l'or cler,
 1170 Car j'en vaurai assez mes soldoiers doner;
 Et jo vos en vaurai en ma terre mener,
 Desci que nos porons un evesque trover

1140 *N* tot—1141 fauburō les cler—1143 *N* Nos deus—1144 demorer
 —1145 *est c.*—1146 nos uies—*After* 1146 *A inserts*: 7 si ferons por eus
 qua que porons finer 7 si lor priérons de boin cuer sans fauser—1149
 Q' il—1148 demorer—*After* 1148 *A inserts*: Paor ai que ne facent ceste
 tour craunter—1149 lor coifes font oster—1150 7 les aub's des dos
 font apries for jeter—1152 la u—1153 orient apieler—1154 ca a toi mi
 baron—1155 non pour nule autre cose—1156 Se tū uiols—1156 uiols
 r.—1159 toi c.—1160 pories a bataille—1163 ne len estuet d.—1164 Ca
 uenes se uoles—1166 Si en cierent lor fois de ihū a.—1167 *A* Ausi
 fissent *N* orent—1168 Or rendes le tresor d. l. r.—1169 sel me faites
 liurer.

- Ki vos pora uns fons beneïr et sacrer,
 U on vos puist trestos en fons rengerer."
 1175 Et respont li paiens: " Bien le voel creanter
 Trestot de bone foi, de verté sans fauser.
 Li tresor sont noïé: faites l'eve avaler,
 Que nos puisons ariere ens es canbres entrer."
 Li rois mande Joïfroï qu'il viegne a lui parler,
 1180 Et il i vient molt tost sans plus de demorer.
 "Joïfroï," ce dist li rois, " faites nos atierer."
 JOÏFROIS vait a l'escluse si ne demore mie,
 Les pels en esraça et l'aigue en est widie;
 La terre se mostra qui tote fu noïe.
 1185 Il n'avait en Artage de la gent paienie
 Plus que .c. homes vis, tote ert la gens perie.
 Cil vont por querre l'or dont la vile est garnie,
 Assez en apporterent et a grant segnorie.
 Por çou qu'en la cité ot tant de gent noïe,
 1190 Qui gisent par ces places en brai et en fangie,
 En fait li rois Lotaires en .i. camp qui verdie
 Porter tot le tresor c'on li met en baillie.
 Le roi paien en maine et tote sa maisnie.
 Li rois fait assanbler se grant cevalerie,
 1195 Soldoiers et serjans qui ierent en s'aïe,
 Et il commence a faire sa rice departie;
 Plus doune au plus vaillant et mains a la maisnie.
 Cil qui il done mains hautement l'en mercie;
 Ki la valt demorer s'ot rice manandie.
 1200 Après soldees a li rois sa gent banie
 K'il en velt repairier, s'a se conestablie
 Mis en l'ariere garde et si a establie
 L'avangarde de gent qui sera ferverstie;
 Mais la paiene gent, icels n'oblie mie.

1173 ens f.—1176 *wanting*—1178 en nos c.—1179 *que* viegne—1180 uient errant sans point—*After* 1180 *A inserts*: 7 leue des esclusses faites aual aler Si capie peussions par mi la uile aler—1182 as esclusses *que* ni arieste mie—1183 *N laiguen en*—*After* 1183 *A inserts*: Auai cort la riuere par si grât aramie Con le puet bien oir dune liue 7 demie—1184 S. t. ses seua [s'esleva] ki toute estoit noïe—1187 ert—1189 Por qñt en l. c. ont—1190 p. 7 en tai en fangie—1191 f. rois orians—1197 as plus vallas—1198 d. le mains—1199 7 ki uolt de morer sans paor de sa uie—1200 Apries ses dounes a—1201 a sa c.—1202 misent lariere—1203 *N gens A* qui bien est f.—1204 7 paiene gent maine ens en sa 9pagnie.

- 1205 **I**l va par ces castels que il avoit conquis,
 U il ot ses provos et ses chevaliers mis ;
 Tels i a qu'il abat, auquans en a garnis,
 Et des prisons ausi tels i a sont ocis
 Et les testes colpees et enfouïs tos vis
- 1210 U pendus a haus caisnes, onques n'en ot mercis,
 Tant qu'il vint en sa marce al chief de .xv. dis.
 La manda .i. evesque et abés dusqu'a dis,
 Et li vesques a fais uns sains fons beneïs
 En une haute eglise mon segnor S. Patris.
- 1215 Après le benïçon a oile et cresse mis,
 Ploncié i a le roi del chief outre le vis ;
 Parins en fu li rois et abé dusqu'a dis,
 Patrices ot a non, del non al saint fu pris.
 Et les autres paiens a tos issi baillis ;
- 1220 Tot sont fait crestien, Mahons est relenquis :
 A Jhesu font fiance, deables soit honis.
 Li rois en fillolage lor dona Monbregis,
 Un castel molt vaillant, et tps les apendis,
 Et bien .lx. viles qui la sont el païs ;
- 1225 Se li a tot rendu ce qu'il avoit conquis,
 Fors les tresors qu'il ot as soldoiers partis.
 Li paiens li a foi et ligeé promis
 Et si remaint ses hom de quanqu'est poëstis.
- M**OLT fu li rois Lotaires el cuer esleeciés
 1230 De ço que Dex l'a si et les siens avanciés,
 Que ses anemis a desos sés piés plaisiés ;
 Deu et ses sains en a hautement grasiés ;
 Sen filluel et ses homes en a tos renvoiés.
 Tels est al main joians, al vespre est cōureciés :
- 1235 Li rois vait par sa marce com cil qui ert haitiés.
 Entrues que li rois a les paiens si brisiés
 Et il est durement demorés et targiés,
 Elioxe sa feme, dont Deu prenge pitiés,

1207 abat teus i a kil garnist—1208 li prison—1209 U . . . u e.—1210 *wanting*—*After* 1209 *A inserts*: Tant ceuauce li rois par plains 7 par lairis—1211 Q' il uint en sa marce al ior de—1212 tros ca—1213 *wanting*—1214 haute glisse—1215 a on le cresse mis—1216 desi outre—1217 tros qua—1218 le .S.—1219 ot tous ensi—1221 En . . . est—1222 li doune mōbrunis—1223 apentis—1224 .xxv. [?]-1225 qua kil—1226 le tresor—1227 a sa foit 7 iuret 7 pleui—1228 Q' il remaint—1233 il en a renuoiés—1234 ki au uiesper *est* iries—1235 ses marches . . . est.

- A atendu son terme qui li est aproiés
 1240 Si com del mesaler dont li fais est molt griés ;
 Ele va par ses canbres, se li deut molt li ciés,
 Ses dens estraint ensanle, ses mals est enforciés.
 Les dames qui soufroient des enfans les mesciés 82
 Sevent bien le malage, qu'il est bien angoissiés ;
 1245 Bien set que de cest mal n'ert ja siens sire liés.

- L**ES dames sont en paine de cele dame aidier,
 Et molt ont de dolor, quel voient travellier
 A si grande hascie et son cors escillier ;
 Mais por nient se paine qui Dex ne velt aidier,
 1250 Et cil qui Dex ajue, soëf puet somelier.
 Une merveille avint que je vos voel noncier :
 Quant Deu plot que la dame peut son fais descargier,
 .VIJ. en a on trovés, as enfans manoier.
 Une gentil pucele ont trovee al premier ;
 1255 Li autre sont vallet, Dex les gart d'enconbrier.
 Une caaine d'or avoit cascuns, d'or mier ;
 La laissent les enfans a terre formoier,
 A la dame entendirent, qui en ot grant mestier.
 Bien le demaine mals et devant et derier,
 1260 Bien set qu'a terre mere li estuet repairier ;
 L'eure de mort li est sor main sans detriier.
 De batre sa poitrine, de Damedeu hucier,
 Çou est tote s'entente, que n'i a que targier ;
 Saint Esperit del ciel ne ciese de proier
 1265 Que li sains Abrahians s'arme puist avoier.
 "Ahi ! Lotaires, sire, com poés detriier ?
 Jamais ne me verrés com vos avoie cier."
 Lors a levé sa main et por sön vis sainier
 Al ciel lieve ses iex, lors li convint clugnier.
 1270 "Dex, tot est fait de moi ! fai moi aconpaignier
 As sains angeles del ciel, se vos en puis proier."

MORTE est bele Elixie, l'esperis s'en est alés,
 Et par tote la sale en est li cris levés.

Li cors gist estendus d'un paille acovetés,

1239 aprocies—1240 de .vii. enfans d. l. f. estoit gries—1241 la canbre
 1242 A Les d. e. e. li cis est N enforie—1243 con soufiert—1244 ki
 ml't est aprocies—1245 wanting—1246 por c.—1249 cui dex ne uient—
 1250 que dex aie s. p. 9sellier—1251 Oies. une m.—1252 deskierkie'—
 1253 trouues enfans de la moillier—1256 c. auoit au col—1258 N da-
 men—A passes from 1258 to 1292.

- 1275 Li luminaires est del clergiet alumés ;
 Li clergiés est venus dont Dex est aorés
 Et li devins mestiers est al cors celebrés
 A crois, a filatires, a encensiers brasés.
 El demain fu li cors a l'eglise portés,
 1280 Mais dedens les parois nen est il pas entrés.
 Li messe est commencie et haute et solenés
 Et serjans et borgois ot a l'ofrande assés,
 Mais de chevaliers est en l'ost tos li barnés.
 Après messe est li cors jentement enterrés,
 1285 A le maisiere gist del mostier tos serrés,
 Et li pules en est en maison retornés.
 Assez fu li cors plains et criés et plorés.

PUIS que la roïne est Elioxe entieree,

8^b

- La mere al roi en est en maison retornee,
 1290 Tot erranmant en est en ses cambres entree ;
 La sont les .iiij. dames cascune escavelee,
 Encor mainent lor duel por la dame honoree.
 Çou dist la mere au roi : " Mostrés ça la portee
 De coi ma belle fille est morte et enterree."
 1295 Les dames respondirent : " C'est merveille provee ;
 Dame, .vii. en i a tot a une litee."
 ".VII. ! por la bele crois, merveille avés contee,
 Jo ne vauroie mie qu'ele me fust mostree ;
 Plevissiés ça vos fois que c'ert cose celee,
 1300 N'a home ne a feme qui de mere soit nee
 Ne sera ceste cose ja par vos revelee."
 Ensi li ont les dames par foi acreantee.
 La dame en apela Monicier de Valee ;
 Cerkié a et corut par lui mainte contree.
 1305 Cil est venus a li : " Dame, que vos agree ?"
 " Tu iés mes hom, et foi m'as tu aseüree ;
 Jo t'ai bien fait, encor n'en sui mie lasee ;
 Une rien a a faire, ço soit cose celee ;
 Ne le te dirai pas sel m'avras afiee
 1310 Ta foi que nel diras, ne par toi n'ert contee."
 " Tenés, dame, ma foi com l'avés devisee."

.1293 Aportes la portee—1293 *wanting*---1296 toute---1297 uraie c.--
After 1297 *A inserts*: Cou ne st' pas enfant cest diable asanblee---
 1298 Ja n. u. mais *que*---1300 Ne a home na fenme ki soit d. m. n.--
 1301 Nesterara ceste cosse . . . ragtee---1302 *A* Isi . . . acreantees *N*
 por soi---1330 ma'ke de la ualee---1304 *wanting*---1305 *N* II---1306 mes
 liges hon fois mas a.--1307 suige pas l.--1308 *N* rien a f. *A* cosse ai
 a faire que uel que soit celee---1309 si laras afiee---1310 mostree.

- “ Fai moi deus cofinials en la selve ramee,
Si mes aporte ça anuit a la vespree.”
Cele dist, et il fait ; n'i a el demoree.
1315 Fait sont, a li revient après none sonee.
El les prent s'a mis ens assez herbe fenée ;
Si conmanda as dames c'on mece ens la portee
Dont la feme son fil ert morte et enterree.

- 1320 **M**AINTE fois en proverbe selt li vilains retraire
Que taie norist sot ; ceste fait le contraire :
Ne nourist sot ne sage, car ele est deputaire ;
Ains ocit et destruit, nen velt noreçon faire.
Double mere est la taie quant ele est debonaire,
Mais des enfans son fil set molt bien mordre faire ;
1325 Tant com ses fils est fors est ele et dame et maire,
Mais s'il fust en maison, n'osast por son viaire
Mostrer son felon cuer, qui est de mal afaire.
“ Monicier,” dist la dame, “ anuit a la brunaire
Des estoiles del ciel me querrés un repaire
1330 En la forest qui est de ces bestes corsaire ;
Porte ces cofinials dont en ai une paire
La u je mais n'en oie rien nule qui desplaire
Me puist ci ne aillors ; ses que jo te voel faire ? 8^e
Provosté te donrai après, si seras maire
1335 D'un castel que jo ai, que jo tieng en douaire ;
Çou ne te porra mie mes fils li rois retraire.”
“ Dame,” dist Moniciers, “ de vostre bien atraire,
Qui me vauroit doner tos les poisons de maire,
Ne les prendroie jo, por qu'il vos dust desplaire.

- 1340 **M**ONICIERS atent tant que nuis soit enserie ;
Ne velt pas que on face de lor liu baerie,
Car il velt sagement faire la conmandie
Sa dame la roïne qui molt en lui se fie.
Son ceval ensiela, ses cofinials n'oblie ;
1345 Il s'est mis a la voie en la selve en hermie,

1312 seule—1314 Cil li dist fait seront sans nule demoree—1315 Fait la et si revint—1317 Sa gmande as dames ca portes la portee—1317 *wanting*—1319 Ceste parole siut li uilains ml't retraire—1320 Que taie norir siut—1321 Nen uiolt norecon faire—1322 locist s.—1323 D. m. siut est'e taie kist d.—1324 sô iu fere—1325 T. *que*—1326 mie ce faire—1327 *wanting*—1328 Marke cou dist . . . alluminere—1329 queras—1331 Portes ce mantiel ci 7 t'stout cest afaire—1332 nule rien—1333 cou *que* ie —1334 te ferai mere—1337 Dame cou a dit marques . . . afaire—1338 p. de mere—1339 Ne feroie iou cosse ki uous deust desplere—1340 Markes atendi . . . fu—1341 sor—1342 *N A sa*—1343 *wanting*—1344 Ses cevaus e. son afaire—1345 Il *est* . . . *nen* set mot la mesnie.

- Et cevalce as estoiles; s'a l'espee sacie.
 Crois a fait en son front, que malfés nel quivrie.
 Il ira bone voie, car Damedex le guie.
 Il avoit ja erré .vij. liues et demie,
 1350 Et li coc ont canté, il a la vois oïe;
 Del chief a oré Deu, de langue le gracie:
 "Dex!" fait il, "que puet estre que j'ai ci en baillie,
 Que ma dame mist ci et onques n'en vi mie?"
 Aparmain le sent jo, que por le fain formie;
 1355 Par foi, que que ce soit, je sai bien qu'il a vie.
 Il jete la sa main si sent car qui molie:
 "Dex, jo quit que c'est enfes, se dex me face aïe;
 Ja par moi n'ert donés a beste en sauvecie,
 Se jo puis trover liu que de mort soit garie.
 1360 Li peciés soit ma dame de ceste felonie."
TANT a erré li sers, molt li puet anuier,
 Mais por pité le laise, qu'il nes velt descargier,
 Son fais; ains ira tant, se il puet avoier,
 K'il trovera foillie u maison u mostier
 1365 U il pora son fais aombrer et mucier,
 Que leu ne autre beste nes veniscent mangier.
 Tant ala totes voies qu'il oï abaier
 Un cien, et dist que la vaura il repairier,
 Se il puet et il troeve en aucun liu sentier.
 1370 Totes voies cevalce et fait le bos froisier,
 Por çou, se li ciens l'ot, que plus doie noisier,
 Et il sivra l'abai, por sa voie abregier.
 Il cevalce a l'abai, pense de l'exploitier
 C'ainc ne fina si vint tot droit a .i. mostier.
 1375 Petis ert et devant ot .i. peneanchier
 U li bons hom seoit le jor por ombroier,
 Qui laiens ert ermites et Deu avoit molt cier.
 Il estoit ja levés s'ert alés saumoier
 De devant son autel, por Deu esloengier;
 1380 Et li ciens si sivoit .i. leu qui el buscier
 Ert venus en la haie por les bestes mangier
 Que l'ermites faisoit la au vespre encoitier.
 Moniciers desoendi, s'a pendu .i. panier
 A la loge devant tot serré le mostier,
 1385 Et l'autre a la fenestre la u soloit mucier

- Li ermites son cief por lui esbanoier,
 Por esgarder le tans, quant il devoit cangier,
 U li airs estoit mius, u devoit esclairier.
 Moniciers se retorne, n'i velt plus detriier,
 1390 Tot issi com il vint est retornés arrier.
 Il n'avoit pas alé d'une liue .i. quartier
 Quant li aube creva, qu'il prent a ravoier,
 Et il a tant erré k'a eure de mangier
 Refu la dont il vint, n'i fait autre dangier ;
 1395 Asiet soi a la table dalés .i. escuier.
 Sa dame quant le voit prent soi a leecier,
 Mais ne le vaut illuec devant gent araisnier.
 Quant il orent mangié, si vont napes sacier
 Senescal qui çou ert en cief et en mestier,
 1400 La dame entre en sa canbre sor .i. lit apoier,
 Et par une pucele a mandé Monicier.
 Cil vint, qui çou atent, sans point de detriier,
 Et quant il sont ensamble la canbre font widier ;
 Dont se prennent ensamble andoi a fabloier.
 1405 " Dame," ço dist li sers, " pené m'ai d'exploitier
 Le besoigne que vos me commandastes ier ;
 Fait est si que jamais n'en orés jor plaidier ;
 J'ai bien alé .x. liues par le bos en ramier,
 Por querre u jou peüsce jus mon fais descargier ;
 1410 N'est pas la u le mis, s'il i ot que mangier."
 " Tu as bien fait, amis, tu aras bon loier,
 De quanque t'ai promis ne te vurai boisier."

- C**I le lairons ensi, si dirons des enfans
 Qui sont es cofinials que porta li serjans.
 1415 En la chapele estoit li ermites laians
 La nuit devant l'autel tos seus et tos dôlans
 Des peciés qu'avoit fais, dont estoit repentans ;
 Matines ot cantees, si n'ert pas aparans
 Li jors, ains atendoit que il fust auques grans,
 1420 Por canter prime et messe, et puis s'alast as cans,
 Et fouïr et hauer a paine et a ahans,
 Por semer .i. poi d'orge, dont il aroit al tans
 Por lui et por sa suer qui o lui ert manans ;
 Car il avoit paor durement del cier tans.
 1425 Il vint a la fenestre sel desfrema laians ;
 Il l'ovri, mais n'avoit ciel n'estoiles luisans.

Li paniers ert encontre qui li vait aombrans ;
 Il ne set que çou est, molt s'en va mervellans.

- 1430 **L**i ermites ne puet veoir ne esgarder
 Le jor par la fenestre que il soloit mirer ;
 Li vaisel sont encontre si nes pot remuer.
 "Dex," fait il, "que ço est qui me puet estouper
 La fenestre par u li jors me seut entrer ?"
 Il est alés entor si a fait enbraser
- 1435 Une foille de sap por cele cose oster ;
 Le vaisel a overt, le fain prent a oster,
 Quatre enfans a trové au fain desvoleper.
 "Ce m'a Dex envoié," fait il, "al ajorner."
 Il a remis le fain por le caure garder ;
- 1440 Lieve les iex en haut, si vaut Deu gracier,
 L'autre cofinel voit si le cort remuer,
 S'a trové .iij. enfans ; or en puet .vij. conter,
 Ki tot li sont remés por nourir et garder.
 "Dex," çou dist li ermites, "jo t'en doi aorer,
- 1445 Que leus ne autre beste nes vint ci devourer ;
 Molt sont bel, Dex les vaut a s'ymage former."
 Il en va sa seror Ermogene apeler.
 "Suer," çou dist li sains hom, "molt devons Deu amer,
 Qui mervelle nos velt sifaitement mostrer ;
- 1450 Il nos a envoié .vij. enfans a garder,
 Jou parins, vos marine en soions al lever.
 Faites une cuviele la devant cel autel
 De la clere fontaine et enplir et raser ;
 Et aubes porveés as enfans affubler.
- 1455 G'irai jusqu'a .vi. liues prestre Vinçan rover,
 Qu'il me prest oile et cresme por els lor droit doner."
 Cele respont : "Por Deu servir en bien over
 Ne me verrés vos ja, se Deu plaist, reculer."
 Cil s'en va si com cil qui n'a que demorer,
- 1460 Vint al prestre Vinçan sel prent a saluer.
 Cil li rent son salu, si le cort acoler :
 "Comment est ? que vos faut ? venés vos resposer."
 "Sire," fait li ermites, "faites nos delivrer
 Oile et cresme a enfans en fons rengenerer ;
- 1465 Dex m'en a doné .vij., jo nes doi refuser."
 "Volentiers, bels dous sire, foi que doi S. Omer,

- Car a si fait besoing le doit on aprestier.
 Enne vos plaist ançois .i. petit a disner? ” 9^b
 “ Nenil,” dist li ermites, “ car jo me voel haster ;
 1470 Ne sai se li enfant pueent tant demorer.
 Il a pris son afaire si s'en prent a raler,
 En maison est venus tos las a l'avesprer.
 “ Que font nostre enfant, suer, pueent mais endurer? ”
 “ Oïl,” dist ele, “ sire, vos poés bien souper.”
 1475 “ Non, suer,” dist li ermites, “ il nos estuet pener
 De ces enfans ançois ; alés les apporter.”
 Cele est corue pruec et il va por le sel ;
 Les enfans persegna, non lor fist deviser,
 Crois el front et el vis et sel a savourer,
 1480 Le nes et les orelles de salive limer,
 Et les beneïcons que il set bien canter.
 Puis les met el mostier et ses fait regarder,
 Que netement peüssent es benois fons entrer.
 Tot sont net, et mis sont en fons rengenerer ;
 1485 Es pis et es espaulles sont enoint d'oïle cler,
 Et cresse lor a mis en son le cerveler,
 Non le Pere et le Fil, que Dex puet tant amer,
 Et le S. Esperit, que il les puist garder.
 Dont lor fait ciés et piés en dras envoleper
 1490 Et candoïles es mains, et donques reposer,
 Et del lait de ses chievres a grant plenté doner
 Et de ferine d'orge papines conreer.
 Mais une cose i a que ne fait a celer,
 Dont li sains hom se prent sovent a porpenser :
 1495 Que quant il les leva, a cascun .i. coler
 Trova loïé el col, de bon fin or tot cler.
 D'ensi que les trova n'en vaut nul remuer,
 Et conmanda tres bien c'on lor face salver.
 “ En foi,” dist li ermites, “ or est tans de souper ;
 1500 Dex otroit nos enfans jehir et amender.”
 L'ESTOIRE nos a dit la devant et conté
 Que rois Lotaires ot mené tot son barné
 Encontre .i. roi paien, et si l'avoit maté
 Tant qu'il tenoit la loi de la crestienté ;
 1505 Et ses parins estoit si l'ot de fons levé,
 Se li avoit assez de sa terre doné

- Et les soldoiers ot lor soldes livré ;
 Il aloit par sa marce gardant sa salveté.
 Entrues avoit sa feme cest siecle trespasé,
 1510 Et on avoit le cors festelment enterré.
 Ço ne set nient li rois au corage aduré,
 Nequedent si a il a ce sovent pensé ;
 Car il avoit son cors laisié molt agrevé
 De la grande hascie del fais qu'avoit porté.
 1515 Sa mere a pris en li de saintise .i. pensé :
 Ele en apele a li .i. sage clerc letré ;
 Ses canceliers estoit, s'en faisoit son privé.
 "Canceliers, je vos quit home de grant bonté ;
 Je vos voel regehir .i. mien parfont secré,
 1520 Mais gardés que par vos ne soit nului mostré."
 "Ne place a Deu, ma dame ; saciés par verité,
 Ja vo conseil n'orés de moi escandelé."
 "Escris dont," dist la dame, "salus et amisté
 A Notaire mon fil, que je l'ai molt amé ;
 1525 De sa feme Elioxe o le gent cors mollé,
 Morte est, et si avons ja le cors entieré.
 Grosse fu voirement, et si s'a delivré
 De .vij. serpens qui ont tot son cors desciré,
 Et de mors et de trais trestot envenimé,
 1530 Et après se sont mis en l'air, s'en sont volé ;
 Et de çou sommes nos molt forment adolé,
 Ne jamais ne serons por rien reconforté,
 Si iert a vos venus s'ara a vos parlé.
 Escrisiés ço, bels sire, que vos ai endité."
 1535 Cil escrist erramment, que tot ot apresté,
 Et quant il l'ot escrit si l'a enquarelé ;
 Et la dame le prist si l'a enseelé,
 S'apela son corliu : "Ça venés, Malmené,
 Va tost al roi sel quier tant que l'aies trové
 1540 De ma part le salue, et lui et son barné,
 Et les letres li done, si'aras fait mon gre."
 "Fait iert, dame," dist il, "tot a vo volenté."
LI corlius fu tos pres, va s'ent sans atargier,
 Trois jornees corut, car le pié ot legier ;
 1545 A le quarte fist tant qu'a eure de mangier
 Vint al roi sel trova ; tos iert las de plaidier.
 Il li baille le brief, li rois le fist froissier

- Son capelain qui la estoit sos .i. lorier ;
 Le brief desploie et list, si a pris a noncier
 1550 Al roi çou que les letres sevent senefier.
 Ensus se traient tot, et prince et chevalier.
 "Vo mere vos salue, car ele vos a cier ;
 Vo feme si est morte, s'en a grant destorbier.
 Grosse fu ; quant ço vint a son fais descargier—
 1555 Sire, se je l'os dire, ne vos doit anuier."
 "Di tost," ço dist li rois, "Quanc'on m'a fait nonchier."
 "—.VIJ. serpens aporta, qui son cors entoscier
 Eurent fait et desrompre, onques hom maniiier 9^d
 Nes peut, qui lués n'eüst tot le cors hireciet ;
 1560 Saciés que tant estoient li serpent lait et fier."
 "E! las," ce dist Lotaires, "de grant dolor plénier
 A fait mon cors avoir qui ço m'a fait nonchier ;
 Or avoie grant joie, or ai grant destorbier.
 Ne se puet nus el monde longement leecier,
 1565 Qu'en la fin de se joie ne l'estuece estancier
 Aucune anons ités qui fait son cuer ploier.
 "**B**ELE Elixoie, k'est nobletés devenue,
 Molt m'estes ore tost et emblee et tolue ;
 Poise moi que je n'ai encor novele eüe.
 1570 Je quit que Dex ait fait de vostre arme sa drue,
 Se vos a fait el ciel porter en une nue.
 Onques de toutes femes ne vi si bele nue ;
 Dex et Nature i misent tote leur entendue,
 La biautés que aviés m'estoit el cuer ceüe.
 1575 Sansue trait le sanc quant se tient a car nue,
 Ausi vostre biautés m'a sacié et tolue
 La joie de mon cuer u grans dolors m'argue.
 Mar fu vostre biautés, dont m'arme est irascue,
 Et vo vertus ausi qui mon cuer me partue ;
 1580 Tant com vos vesquisiés ne me fust ja tolue
 Honors, ne segnorie ja ne me fust teüe,
 Moi et tote ma gens, la grans et la menue.
 Par vos primes m'estoit ceste gracie venue,
 Que j'avoie victore de la gent mescreüe ;
 1585 De la joie del ciel soit vostre ame peüe."
LI baron s'esmervellent, qu'est le roi avenu :
 Orains estoit joians, or a le giu perdu.

- Il sont venu avant, mais ne sont pas meü.
 "Sire rois, qu'avés vos? de qu'as conseil creü?"
 1590 Entre toi et ton clerc as tu damage eü?
 Quel besöing t'a tes clers ore ramenteü?
 Puisque sommes ici d'ostoier esmeü
 Tu nos as de soldees trestos si bien peü
 Et nos sommes si bien de t'amor enbeü,
 1595 Quanqu'il en a ici, li grant et li menu,
 Isi bien nos iés ore trestos el cuer keü,
 Que se vels guerroier Mahomet et Kahu,
 Prenderons nos avuec, ja n'ert contretenu."
 "Segnor," ço dist li rois, "et grant joie et salu
 1600 Vos doinst tos Damedex, bien m'avés maintenu,
 Et vos estes trestot mi ami et mi dru;
 Mais bien saciés, por voir, que molt m'est mesceü.
 La roïne Elioxe m'a tot mon cuer tolu; 10^a
 C'ert la plus sage dame qu'encore aie veü,
 1605 Molt m'a la soie mors durement confondu,
 Quant s'aïe et son sens m'a si tost retolu."
 "Sire," dient li prince, "Dex a molt grant vertu,
 Mellor arés encore c'onques ele ne fu.
 Nus ne doit desperer, mais avoir bon argu;
 1610 Mellor arés encore, Dex doinst s'arme salu."
 "SEGNOR," ço dist li rois, "bone gens honoree,
 Beneoite soit l'eure que fustes assanblee.
 Ralés en vo país, cascuns en sa contree;
 G'irai veïr ma mere qui'st molt desconfortee,
 1615 Sel reconforterai car molt est adolee."
 Or cevalce li rois a maisnie privee,
 Por qu'il est en sa terre, n'a cure de posnee.
 Or cevalce a grant force si haste sa jornee:
 Au tierç jor descendi en sa sale pavee.
 1620 Quant sa mere le vit, a terre ciet pasmee,
 Et il a d'autre part sa chiere envolepee
 Del cor de son bliaut qui'st de porpre roee.
 Chevalier qui la sont la dame ont relevee;
 Sous piece, quant se fu .i. poi reporpensee,
 1625 Ses crins trait, bat ses palmes, sa face a desciree;
 Dont s'est a hautes vois comme feme escriee:
 "Ma fille, u estes vos? qui vos a emportee?
 Jo vos amoie tant, ma fille douce nee,

- Com se jo vos eüsce en mon ventre portee.
 1630 La mors, u iestes vos, qui le m'avés enblee? "
 Çou est fause dolors, por toute la crie; ;
 Mais li rois qui son cuer ot torble et sa pensee,
 Ne se pot acieser, car il l'ot molt amee.
 Aßsés i a de cels qui dolor ont menee,
 1635 Por la dame li un, li autre por la fee
 Qui pieç'a estoit morte et en terre posee,
 Por lor segnor li autre a qui nient n'agree.
 Cil se demaine si comme feme adolee.
- P**LANTOLS, uns chevaliers qui ert de sa maisnie,
 1640 Molt l'ama; ses niés ert, de sa seror joie.
 Il saut sus, ja dira parole bien oïe:
 "Oncles, tu iés ténans de molt grant segnorie,
 Grant terre as desos toi en garde et en baillie,
 Se vient a ton besoing molt grans chevalerie,
 1645 Et tot viennent a toi en force et en aïe.
 Se il savoient ore que menasces tel vie,
 Il ne te priseroient le vaillant d'une alie:
 Femmes doivent plorer quant cuers lor atenie, 10^b
 On les doit conforter qui les tient de maisnie.
- 1650 Tu amas molt la dame et ele fu t'amie,
 Dex mete la soie arme en pardurable vie;
 Fai faire sor le cors mostier u abeïe,
 Et s'i met de tes rentes et si asiet clergie
 Qui par nuit et par jor por Elioxe prie.
 1655 Soïés de bel confort, faites ciere haitie,
 Reconforte ta mere qui tote est esbahie;
 Se tes cuers est dolans, tostans fai çiere lie."
 "Bien dist Plantols li preus," ço respont la maisnie,
 "Plus en fera li rois qu'a ses homes ne die;
 1660 Cascun jor face aumosne, et par rente estable,
 Qui onques en demant, que il n'i faille mie."
- L**I rois par bon conseil devint bons almosniers,
 Il done pain et ble, livres, marcs et deniers;
 Il a clers assanblés s'a fait novials mostiers,
 1665 Done livres, calises, vestimens, pailles ciers,
 Textes et candeliers et crois et encensiers,
 Et rentes lor dona tant com lor fu mestiers.
- O**R sont assis li clerc, ne finent de proier
 Tos les sains Damedeu, qu'il puisse consellier

- 1670 Roi Lotaire et sa mere et l'arme sa moillier.
 Auques se prent li rois de son duel a coisier,
 Si conpaignon le font auques esleecier ;
 Li chevalier le mainent sovent esbanoier,
 As eskiés et as tables et prendre et gaaignier ;
- 1675 Mais en nule maniere nel pueent solacier.
 Une ore a pris li rois sa mere a araisnier :
 " Mere," dist il, " por Deu, molt me puis merveillier,
 Onques ne peuc oïr le verté aficier,
 Comment fist Elioxe a le mort travellier.
- 1680 D'un es lettres que g'euc me ramenbra l'autr'ier,
 Que en l'ost m'envoastes par .i. garçon corsier ;
 Jo en fis lués le cite mon capelain froisier,
 Il me commença lués mervelles a noncier.
 Or me deveriés vos mot a mot acointier :
- 1685 Bien sai qu'ele fu grosse ; qui fu au travellier ?"
 " Bels fils," ço dist la mere, " vels tu reconmenchier
 Ton duel et ta tristrece et ton grant destorbier ?
 Grosse fu, voirement, d'un hisdeus adversier
 Ki tot son bels cors fist de venin entoscier ;
- 1690 Ço fu uns lais serpens, jo le vi hirecier.
 Ele s'en delivra ; quant on le dut baillier,
 Si esbati ses eles sans plus de detriier,
 Si essora en l'air, n'ot soing de repairier. 106
 Le cors de li fist si durement martriier,
- 1695 Ne mires ne carnins ne li pot ainc aidier.
 Morte fu, s'enfouimes le cors pres del mostier."
 " E! Dex," ço dist li rois, " com jo euc son cor chier."
 Dont commence a penser et son cief a broncier :
 " Ha! Dex, ele me dist c'al premerain couchier
- 1700 Que seriens ensamble, por nos cors delitier,
 Ke il li convenroit .vij. enfans encargier ;
 Al mostre aroit cascuns caaine al col d'or mier."
 Or parole ma dame : " D'un si fait aversier
 Jo ne sai mais le quele je tiegne a mençoignier ;
- 1705 Jo le lairai a tant, n'en voel plus fabloier."
 Or est li rois tos seus, veves et sans moillier,
 Fierement tient sa terre, n'est en nului dangier ;
 N'a si hardi voisin qui ja l'ost gueroier.
 On le tient por bon home et por bon justichier ;

- 1710 De nul jugement dire ne velt il detrier,
 Mais tost après le clain jugier et afaitier.
 Issi tint il sa terre .vij. ans sans enconbrier ;
 Dont li est pris talens de lire et d'encerkier
 Quans travers, quans treüs tenoient si voier,
 1715 Et si vieignent molt bien conter a l'eskekier.
 Li clers list les escriis, si troeve tel rentier,
 Bien a passé .vij. ans que il ne vint paier,
 Tel i a .iiij., tel deus ; le roi prent anuier,
 Ja lor vaura par letres de son talent nonchier.
- 1720 **L**i rois garde le clerc, si li sanble saçant :
 "Escrisiés as rentiers que jo par brief lor mant,
 Dedens .xl. jors vieignent faire creant
 De quanque il a moi doivent estre rendant ;
 Et si vieignent garni si com por droit faisant."
 1725 Li clers a fait les letres trestot al roi conmant,
 Et le saiel de cire et le brief fors pendant.
 Li rois a regardé et ariere et avant :
 "Qui portera ces letres ? U iés tu, Malquidant ?"
 Entrues qu'il regardoit, estes vos .i. serjant,
 1730 Je quit c'on l'apeloit Rudemart le vaillant ;
 A son pere ot esté, se li ot doné tant
 Dont il avoit assez a trestot son vivant.
 Ses pere l'ot molt cier, qu'il le savoit saçant,
 Ses terres et ses fiés et ses rentes contant ;
 1735 Li rois l'a apielé et il i vint errant.
 "Rudemart," dist li rois, "n'i voi plus aparant
 De la besoigne faire mais el mulet anblant.
 Montés tost si portés ces letres a garant ;
 Quel part que vos venés c'on vos port honor grant,
 1740 Car ç'a escrit es letres que veés ci pendant.
 Si dites mes rentiers, si com il sont coillant
 Mes rentes, mes treüs aussi soient rendant,
 De çou qu'il ont reciut de droit conte faisant
 Dedens .xl. jors devant moi en presant ;
 1745 Et se il ço ne font, mal m'ierent atendant."
- R**UDEMARS li respont : "Bien ferons vo conmant."
 Les letres prent, si va a la roïne errant.
 "Dame," dist il, "j'en vois le preu le roi querant."
 Rudemars s'aparelle si com de bien errer ;

- 1750 Il fait des .iiij. piés son mulet refierer,
 Sa siele renaier, son penel rabourer,
 Esperons et estriers, çaingles por reçaingler ;
 C'on mes ses torselieres ne vaut il oblier,
 Hueses, cape et capel, por son cors aombrer,
 1755 Et boiste por ses letres, que mius les puist garder.
 Quant Deus done el demain que dut l'aube crever,
 Il prent se cose preste si s'en prent a aler.
 Or s'en va Rudemars, ne velt plus demorer,
 Por les baillius le roi qu'il set molt bien trover.
 1760 Molt set bien u il mainent, n'en puet nus escaper ;
 Il les semont trestos devant le roi aler,
 Por conter devant lui u por gage livrer ;
 U sans gage u sans plege n'en poront retourner.
 Tostans mostre ses letres, por lui asseürer.
 1765 Bien a .vij. jors erré, ainc ne vaut sejourner ;
 La u prist le disner, la ne vaut ainc souper.
 Les baillius de la marce a il fait tos tranbler ;
 S'al .xl.isme jor ne sont la por conter,
 Li rois a lor mesaise les en fera mener.
 1770 Cil li otroient tot, ne l'osent refuser,
 Car il mostre ses letres qu'il pueent molt doter.
 Cil a fait son message, met soi el retourner,
 Mais c'est par autre voie, car il s'en velt raler,
 A grans jornees velt le pais trespasser.
 1775 A Lesbon, .i. castel, la va prendre .i. disner,
 Et puis se met a voie por son oire haster.
 Passe .i. grant brueroi, puis li estuet entrer
 En une grant forest, mais ne s'i sot garder :
 Il ne trueve maison u il puist osteler,
 1780 Et li jors se tornoit del tot al avesprer.
 Il se crient de sa beste, des leus del devourer,
 Car se il fust a pié, garandir et tenser
 Se peüst et deseure .i. grant arbre monter ;
 Or li estuet a terre lui et son mul garder.
 1785 La forés si est grans, maint ors et maint sengler,
 Qui le cerkast a ciens, i peüst on trover.
 La nuis n'ert mie torble, la lune tuisoit cler.
 Il se trait sos .i. arbre por son cors reposer,
 Et il va a sa mule le frain del cief oster
 1790 Et l'arçon de sa sele li va outre jeter ;

- Le cavestre li lace el pié por eschaper.
 La mule paist de l'erbe tant com en puet trover;
 De l'avaine nel pot nient aprover.
 Il s'asiet desos l'arbre, car ne set u aler,
 1795 Saine soi del deable, que nel puist enganer,
 Et si atrait le brant dont li cotel sont cler;
 Del dormir n'a talent, ains est en mal penser.
 Issi li convint la tote nuit demorer;
 Et tantost com il vit l'aube aparant crever,
 1800 Si met le frain sa mule si le vait reçaingler.
 Il monte et quiert cemin por jornee haster,
 Mais ançois sona prime qu'il puist cemin trover,
 Et quant entrés i est ne set u veut mener.
 Carité a assés de longement juner;
 1805 Il n'a ne tant ne quant dont il puisse disner.
 Vers none oï .i. cien et glater et uller,
 Assés l'a escouté, cele part velt torner;
 Quant plus aproce pres, si a oï canter
 Un chant que uns ermites fait en son mesgarder.
 1810 Il pense la a gent, la vaura osteler,
 Se Dex li consentoit que la peüst aler.
- R**UDEMARS tos lassez cele part vint traiant,
 Il estoit molt afлис, travail ot eü grant;
 Encore estoit en juns des le jor de devant.
 1815 Il a trové l'ermite son cortil encloant,
 Dont les bestes li érent forment adamagant.
 Li lievre et porc et cerf et li cevroel salant
 Toute jor li manguent ses colés en brostant,
 Dusqu'a dont que li cien i viennent abaiant.
 1820 Rudemars a parlé hautement en oiant:
 "Bels preudom, cil vos saut qui maint en Oriant,
 Et de la sainte Virgene nasqui en Belliant.
 Por cel segnor vos pri dont vos vois reclamant,
 Que vos faites anuit une aumosne molt grant:
 1825 Laisiés moi o vos estre hui mais a remanant,
 A mangier me donés por Deu le raemant;
 Certes jo ne mangai tres ier none sonant,
 Toute jor ai erré par bos, par desrubant."
 Cil a levé son chief si le vait regardant,
 1830 Avis li est qu'il soit preudom, a son sanblant.
 "Dont estes vos, bels sire, et qu'alés vos querant?"

"Sire, jo vois le preu mon segnor porchaçant;
Jo semoing ses voiers qu'a lui viegnent errant,
Et si porc ci ses letres a cest saiel pendant."

- 1835 "AMIS," dist li ermites, qui fu de bone vie
Et de grant carité, "hui mais n'en irés mie;
De la moie viande arés une partie,
Et si prendés hui mais o moi herbregerie;
Ostés vo mul le frain; en cel pre qui verdie
1840 Le loies par le pié, qu'il ne s'eslonge mie;
Et s'en soies assés por gesir a nuitie,
Car vos n'averés keute fors de l'erbe delie,
Ne de linceus noient; plus n'i arés aïe."
Rudemars fu molt liés et de Diu le mercie;
1845 Il a pris sa faucille s'a de l'erbe soïe,
Tant en porte en maison qu'il ne s'en repent mie;
Sa mule maine o lui, après l'erbe le lie.
L'ore atent de mangier, mais que molt li detrie;
Ne vaut mangier ses ostes, si fu tens de conplie.
1850 Il a tant attendu que l'ore est avesprise.
L'ermites garde en haut si a l'ore saisie,
Il trait a sa chapele, si ore tant et prie
Qu'il dist vespres del jor et de sainte Marie,
Et vegile des mors, par bon loisir fenie.
1855 Dont vient a sa seror qui avoit en baillie
Son pain et sa despense: "Suer, enmiudrons no vie;
Nos avons ci .i. oste, faites plus grant boulie."
"Sire, au boin eür, ne m'atargerai mie."
Ele prent sa ferine qui'st d'orge bien delie,
1860 Et del lait de ses cievres (honte en ai que jel die),
S'a fait le grant paiele .i. doit plus que mie.
Quant la viande est quite et la table est drecie,
On a devant cascun mis la soie partie.
Dont samble Rudemart qu'il ait Puille saisie,
1865 Tos les daintiés le roi ne prise il une alie;
Molt manga volentiers, car famine l'aigrie,
De cel bon pain d'avaine et del mangier d'orgie,
Et but de la fontaine qui bien est refroidie.
RUDEMARS fu saous, et Deu en rent mercis
1870 Et a S. Juliën, qu'a bon ostel l'a mis.
Il garda entor lui, si a veü laïs

- Enfans mangier ensamble, bien en i avoit .vi.
 Tuit mengierent ensamble en pais et en seris,
 Ne font un point de noise, molt fu l'uns l'autre amis,
 1875 Et cascuns ot el col .i. loien d'or faitis.
 C'esgarda Rudemars, s'en a jeté .i. ris :
 " Dex ! com je m'esmervel de ces enfans petis ;
 C'est la, ço quit, lor mere qui tos les a norris ;
 D'un grant et d'un eage sont molt bien, ce m'est vis.
 1880 " Ostes," dist Rudemars, " por les sains esperis,
 Sont tot cist enfant vo que je voi ci assis ?"
 " Ostes," dist li ermites, " j'en sui pere adoptis ;
 Jes ai gardés çaiens .vij. ans tos acbnplis,
 Que jes trovai ensamble en fain mucies et mis,
 1885 Et de saint cresseme et d'oile tos crestiens les fis,
 Et ma suer les a tos en si grant cure mis
 Qu'ele ausi comme mere les apele todis.
 Cel loien que cascun a entor le col mis
 Aporta il o lui, ja ne iere entredis,
 1890 Que por moi soit ostés jusc'al jor del juïs ;
 Il est d'or et si croist a mesure todis."
 Et Rudemars respont : " Dex les garde, li pis."
 Li preudom rent ses graces a Deu et ses mercis,
 Et Rudemars respont : " De Deu soit beneïs,
 1895 Et cil par qui il est de bien si raemplis."
 Quant ont assés parlé, si se traient as lis,
 Et Rudemars fait tant, ses mus est esternis ;
 Litier li a faite trestote a son devis,
 Mais d'avaine doner n'est il ne fais ne dis.
 1900 Et Rudemars selonc s'est cociés tos vestis,
 Car il fu las d'errer si fu tos endormis.
 La dort descî a dont que jors est esclarcis ;
 Et quant il voit le jor, errant est sus salis
 Et monte en son mulet qui'st d'esrer ademîs.
 1905 A l'oste prent congié si s'est d'illuec partis,
 Si a tant cevalcié par bois et par lairis
 K'el demain endroit tierce al palais qui'st valtîs
 En est venus au roi ; ja estoit mîedis
 Quant il parla a lui, si li nonça ses dis
 1910 Que si rentier mandoient par bouce et par escriis :
 Li rois les a molt bien et volentiers oîs.
 Al roi a pris congié, d'illuec s'est departis,

A sa dame est venus qui l'ot molt cier todis.

- 1915 **L**A roïne le voit, si li dist : " Bien vegniés !
 Que faites, Rudemart ? estes vos tos haitiés ?
 Avés vos ore bien vos travals emploïés ?"
 " Oje, certes, ma dame, Dex en soit graciés.
 Dame, jo ai bien fait son conmant, ço saciés ;
 Mais jo ai esté puis durement esmaiés.
- 1920 Quant me mis el repaire el bos fui forvoiés,
 Une nuit juc el bos sos le rain tos cociés ;
 L'endemain errai tant que je fui herbregiés
 El bos ciés .i. saint home, la fui bien pastoiés ;
 La vi jou grans mervelles, dame, ja nel querriés."
- 1925 " Di, por Deu, Rudemart."—" Al bon eür, oiés :
 Je vi la .vi. enfans trestos bien arengiés
 Entor une escuiele, et si bien afaitiés
 C'un seul mot ne disoient, et s'ert cascuns loiés
 El col d'une caaine dont li ors ert proisiés,
- 1930 Bons rouges ors d'Arrabe qui si est covoiétés.
 Li bons hom les norist, Dex li ot envoiés,
 S'ierent tot d'un eage et d'un grant, ço saciés."
 " Rudemart," dist la dame, " jamais mes amistiés
 N'arés en vo vivant, se vos ne porchaciés
- 1935 De ces caaines d'or que vos le mes doigniés."
 " Dame," dist Rudemars, " por nient travelliés ;
 Jo nel lairoie mie por estre a mort jugiés."
 " Rudemart, paine t'ent, bien seras soldoiés :
 Tu averas m'amor et des moies daintiés."
- 1940 **R**UDEMARS fu pensis, ne sot quel part torner ;
 En aucune maniere l'estuet atapiner,
 Qú'il revoist as enfans les caaines oster.
 Unes cisoires quiert dont il les puist colper,
 Et une viés eskerpe u il les puist bouter ;
- 1945 Viés housials decrevés et solliers por aler,
 Cemise et braies noires, esclavine a fubler
 Et bordon que il fait tot de novel fierer,
 Et .i. capel feutrin por son cief aombrer ;
 Son vis a taint d'un fiel d'un grant pisson de mer
- 1950 Qu'il avoit pieç'a fait al keu le roi server.
 Or est atapinés, or pense del errer,
 .III. jornees a piet a fait por la aler.

- A l'ermite est venus sel prent a sermoner :
 " Sire preudom, por Deu qui le mont doit salver,
 1955 Que Dex en paradis face vostre ame aler !
 Laisiés moi anuit mais avoec vos osteler ;
 Enfers sui et enflés ; ce quit, m'estuet crever.
 Sire, por Deu carnés me, se vos savés carner,
 Tante mecine ai bute, nel puis mais endurer ;
 1960 As puisons S. Rumacle m'en alai meciner.
 Une fois sui a lis et l'autre voel crever,
 Lieve, por Deu, ta main, fai ma dolor cieser ;
 Se tu saines mon ventre bien porai esmiudrer."
 Li ermites le voit si forment dolouser,
 1965 Ne li puet son ostel de pitié refuser ;
 Fait li crois sor son ventre que il vit si enfler,
 Et dist .iii. pater nostres por le mius ajuer,
 Que deables ne puist mal baillir ne grever.
 Après dist qu'il fera une erbe destemprer
 1970 Quant il vaura coucier, sel vaura abeverr,
 Que il puis ne le voie tant com jors puet durer.
 "Alés seir, bels sire, alés vos reposer,
 U jesir sor cele herbe, car las vos voi d'esrer."
 Li pelerins malades fist molt feble sanblant,
 1975 Ausi se dolousoit com s'eüst grant ahant,
 Et l'ermites en a pité et douçor grant.
 Des oes li a fait quire trestot a son talant,
 Mais de pain ne pot il gouster ne tant ne quant ;
 Del lait se fist doner com enfant alaitant.
 1980 L'ermites prent sanicle, .i. erbe verdoiant,
 Et osmonde et fregon, qui molt ot vertu grant,
 Se l'estampe et destempre, vient a celui puiant.
 Cil le prent en sa bouce, de boire fait sanblant,
 Mais onques n'en passa le col ne poi ne grant,
 1985 Ains le va entor lui en l'erbe dejetant.
 L'ermites le saina si s'en ala corant,
 Que plus ne le veüst en cel jor en avant ;
 Non fist il onques puis en trestot son vivant.
 L'ermites se couça et clost son huis devant,
 1990 Et cil remest ça fors desor l'erbe gisant,
 Si a levé la teste, entor lui va gardant
 Por veir de l'ostel trestot le convenant.

- La litiere a veüe u gisent li enfant ;
 Assés sont pres de lui, mais si secreemant
 1995 Velt faire son malise, si bien, si coiemant,
 Que nus de la maison nel voist apercevant.
 Il dort si com li autre, s'atent tant convenant ;
 La se gist et repose jusqu'a l'aube aparant.
 Li ermites se lieve, ses saumes vait rimant
 Et entre en sa capele, si a lëü son cant ;
 2000 Et sa suer lieve sus, ses cievres maine en camp.
 La pucele se gist coverte d'un drap blanc,
 Li .vi. enfant remainent en lor lit tot dormant.
 L'ostes, qui son colp gaite, se lieve en son seant
 2005 Si regarde entor lui, s'esquerpe vait querant
 U les cisoires sont qui molt ont bon trençant.
 As enfans est venus souavet en taisant,
 Les caaines lor coupe cascune o le pendant. 12^b
 Tot remet en l'escerpe, le fer et l'or luisant ;
 2010 Dont revient a son lit, va soi aparellant,
 C'al cemin se velt metre tot sans congié.prendant.
L I tapins s'acemine, onques n'i prist congié,
 Com cil qui coiemant a fait sa malvaistié ;
 Les caaines en porte qu'a conquis par pecié.
 2015 Es le vos ens el bos tapi et enbuscié ;
 Il ne tient nul cemin, mais par .i. marescié,
 Sans cauce et sans housel, sans caucer, tot nu pié.
 Quant vint a miedi bien s'en est eslongié,
 Dont a pris son housel, si a caucié son pié.
 2020 Or s'acemine fort, bien a fait son marcié,
 Sans calenge a conquis tot ço qu'a covoiitié.
 En .ij. jors et demi a il tant travellié
 Qu'il est la venus u li rois tint son sié,
 Mais par defors la vile a son estre cangié ;
 2025 Ainc de quanqu'il porta nè en main ne en pié
 Ne retint fors l'esquerpe u il avoit mucié
 Içou dont la roïne li avoit molt proié.
 Il a repris ses dras que il avoit cangié,
 A la roïne vient, si s'asiet a son pié.
 2030 " Dame," dist il, " cil sire, qui par sa grant pitié
 Vint racater le mont, que Malfés ot loié,
 Vos saut et quan qu'avés mis en vostre amistié."
 " Tu dis bien, Rudemart, comment as exploitié ?"

- " Dame, jo ai tant fait, ves me ci repairié,
 2935 Et si ai tant alé et quis et porchacié
 Que je vos aporc ci bon or, fin et proisié ;
 Faites ent vo plaisir ; " et cil li a puirié.
 La roïne les prent, si l'en a mercié
 Et de bon gueredon l'a molt bien soldoié.
 2040 **R**UDEMARS ot laisiés les enfans en lor lis,
 Tot ierent d'un eage, tot .vj. assés, petis.
 Lor coses en porta com malvais et fuitis,
 Il n'i avoit celui ne fust si endormis,
 S'on le vausist ocire, ne s'en fust il fuïs ;
 2045 Tant dorment li enfant que jors fu esclarcis.
 Quant li premiers se fu de son songe esperis,
 Il dejeté ses bras ausi com par delis.
 Il senti par les membres, les grans et les petis,
 Que nature cangoit et en cors et en vis ;
 2050 Et en bras et en janbes par tot a pannes mis,
 S'est devenus oisiaus si blans com flors de lis ;
 De parole former n'estoit pas poëstis.
 Ausi fist il as autres, tant qu'il sont trestot .vj.
 Blanc oisel devenus, si se sont en l'air mis ;
 2055 Mius resambloient cisne c'autre oisel a devis,
 Il sont blanc s'ont lons cols, et si ont les piés bis.
 Tot c'esgarda lor suer qui avoit son cief mis
 Desos son covertor, mais c'un poi pert ses vis ;
 Longement ot baé et esgardé todis
 2060 Comment li pelerins qui estoit langeïs,
 Quant il ne vit nului, si est alés as lis ;
 Mais ne seut qu'il i fist ; après s'en est fuïs.
LI oisel sont en l'air s'apprendent a voler,
 Nature les aprent, qui les ot fait muer,
 2065 Estre d'ome en oisel, mais la ne pot ovrer
 Que sens d'ome cangast [mais la ne puet ovrer.]
 Celui ont porsivi quis ert venus embler.
 Lor enseignes qu'il durent lor eages porter
 Perdues sont, se Dex ne les velt regarder.
 2070 Porsivi ont celui qui nes pot eskiver
 Qu'il ne l'aient veü la u il velt aler.
 El castel sont entré u Lotaires li ber,
 Qui rois ert de la terre, se faisoit dangerer.

- Il amoit le castel, ne s'en vaut remuer ;
 2075 Ses pere i tint son sié, il le vaut restorer,
 Car la fu il norris, et la prist il a per
 Elioxe la bele, qui tant fist a loer ;
 La fu morte la dame, la le fist enterrer
 Et la seent les rentes dont fait messes canter
 2080 As esglises qu'il a fait del sien estorer.
 Li castials siet molt bien por home dangerer :
 D'une part est li bos u puet aler vener,
 Et d'autre part riviere sos le maistre piler
 De la tor u il puet cascun jor, al lever,
 2085 Par .i. petit guicet ses mains as flos laver,
 Et poissons assez prendre, por avoir al disner.
 Outre l'eve sont pre c'on puet .ij. fois fener,
 Et fontaines i a dont li riu sont molt cler ;
 Après ot .i. vivier u li rois fait server
 2090 Poissons grant de manieres, quant il se velt haster,
 Que pesciere qui pesce les puist tost aprester.
 Les vignes et l'arbroie n'i doit on oblier,
 Dont li vin et li fruit font forment a amer.
 Les coutures i sont por forment pur et cler,
 2095 Portent dont on poroit .iiij. castels conreer ;
 Por ce se velt li rois adies la reposer.
 La sont alé li cisne, la les fist trespasser
 Nature qui lor fist les eles por voler,
 Et sens d'ome qui chace le laron qui embler
 2100 Ert venus çou que Dex lor vaut tousdis server,
 Et la Deu porveance qui s'i vaut amostrer.
 El vivier se descendent si prennent a voler ;
 Poissons la troevent gros, la fist bon pasturer.
 NOVELE vint al roi que .vi. cisne novel
 2105 Mainent en son vivier, mais il font grant maisel
 Des poissons qui la sont, prennent a tel reviel
 Qu'a paines i remaint poisson ne pissoncel ;
 Mais il n'atendent home ne viennent a apel.
 "Combien a," dist li rois, "que la sont cil oisel ?"
 2110 "Sire, il a bien .x. jors que g'iere en cel praiel,
 Ses vi sor la fontaine ester ens el gravel,
 Et puis ses ai veüs pelukier al soel."
 "Par Deu," ce dist li rois, "ce me est or molt bel.

- Or conmant qu'il n'i ait ne viel ne jovencel
 2115 Qui de rien les quivrie, car en malvaise pel
 Meteroie sa car, et en malvais flaiel
 Jo le ferroie si que boullir le cervel ;
 L'i feroie a mes mains d'espee et de coutel.
- P**PLANTOLS n'ot mie oï ceste manace faire ;
 2120 Niés ert le roi Lotaire, et frans et debonaire.
 En rivièrte ert alés, oisials porte .ij. paire,
 C'ert ostoirs et faucon ; et arc porte por traire.
 Dont .li vient uns hairons par devers son viaire ;
 Le faucon laisse aler qui de voler le maire,
 2125 Tant le maire et demaine qu'il l'abat ens el aire,
 Et en l'aigue u li cisne qui'stoient tot Lotaire
 Ot comandé que nus ne lor face contraire.
 Et Plantols a grant paine fait son oisel fors traire ;
 Encor ne se velt pas vers son ostel retraire,
 2130 Car il voloit encore faire cose qui paire.
 Il a son arc tendu si entoise por traire,
 Volentiers porteroit le roi bon quisinaire ;
 La saiete entesa descî al fer por traire,
 Mais la corde li fent descî que el tenaïre,
 2135 Et li cisne s'en volent tres par mi le vivaïre,
 Qu'il n'ont point de paor de l'arcier deputaïre.
 Se Plantols fu dolans si pert a son viaire ;
 Qui tot le depeçast , n'en peüst il sanc traire.
 Il a rué tot puer, si se met el repaïre.
- I**L ot tant demoré, li rois sist al mangier ;
 2140 Plantols descent sos l'arbre, il et si chevalier,
 Lor cevals en menerent garçon et escuier.
 Plantols s'en vait puïant sus el palais plenier,
 Li rois se sist au dois, et Plantols qui l'ot cîer
 2145 Li presente .i. hairon por lui esleecier.
 " Bels niés, u fustes vos alés por rivoier ? "
 " Bels sire," dist Plantols, " a cel forçor vivier
 Sos le bois fis aler un mien faucon muïer ;
 Cest hairon eslevai, nel finai de cacier
 2150 Dusqu'a dont que il fu en .i. estanc plonciés ;
 A paines peuc avoir mon faucon montenier,
 Et jo euc grant paor qu'il ne deüst noier ;
 La avoit .vi. oisials, qui sont grant et plenier,

- Et blanc com flors de lis ; jo pris mon arc manier,
 2155 Si en vauc traire a l'un, ne m'i seuc afaitier :
 La saiete fendi par dalés le tenier,
 Li oisel s'en volerent, ne peuc nul arçoier."
 Quant li rois ot cel mot, si prent a courecier :
 "Comment !" dist il, "Plantoul, g'euc fait mon ban crier,
 2160 Que nus ne destorbast les oisiaus del vivier ;
 Par les plaies mortels, vos le conperrés cier."
 Li rois saut sus en piés, u il n'ot qu'a irier,
 Tient .i. coutel treçant qui tos estoit d'acier ;
 Ja alast son neveu ens el cuer estochier,
 2165 Quant salent contre lui doi jëntil chevalier
 Qui retinrent a force sel prenent a coisier.
 Por çou ne remaint mie, il prent la nef d'or mier
 Sel rue après Plantoul qu'il voloit quaisier.
 Mais cil en est guencis joste .i. piler arier,
 2170 La nef hurte al piler si fait le pié froissier.
 Sa mere est sus salie sel corut redrecier,
 Et Plantols descendi contreval le plancier.

- L**i rois est coureciés, grant piece se coisa,
 Et toute la vespree son maltalent runga.
 2175 Plantols est main levés, en la capele entra,
 La se fist joste l'uis tant que li rois venra.
 Li capelains i vint, de canter s'atorna,
 Rois Lotaires i vint, grant compaignie mena ;
 Il entre en sa eapele, et cil qui covoita
 2180 As piés li est ceüs, et merci li proia
 Et trestot l'en proierent, et li rois l'enleva
 Et por tante proiere trestot li pardona,
 Par si que a ses cisnes nul jor mais ne traïra ;
 Sor les sains de l'autel, de çou l'aseüra.

- 2185 **O**R est Plantols a cort niés le roi et amis,
 Des oisiaus del rivier est il eskius todis,
 Car li rois les a ciers et en cuer li sont mis,
 Et li oïsel ont pais de tos ceus dou païs.
 Or pucent asseür noer par le gueïs
 2190 Et manger des poissons, des grans et des petis,
 Ja par home vivant n'en ert fais contredis ;
 Et li piés de la nef qui estoit soldeïs,
 Qui par maltalent fu jetée au piler bis,

- Estoit tot defroés et lavés autresis ;
 2195 La mere au roi le garde si l'a en son sauf mis.
 Ele mande .i. orfevre qui estoit ses amis ;
 Cil i vient volentiers qui molt ert lieüs.
 " Amis," dist la roïne, " comment sera remis
 Uns piés en ceste nef et fors et bien assis,
 2200 Et la nes rebatue ? " Cil respont a ses dis :
 " Le pié estuet refaire de nuef, trop est malmis.
 Voire," dist li orfevres, " j'en ferai .i. fondis ;
 Se vos or me bailliés, icis ert avoec mis."
 La roïne aporta .iiij. anels d'or masis.
 2205 " Dame," dist li orfevres, " poi i a, ce m'est vis,
 A ce que vos volés, qu'il soit bels et jentis."
 La roïne s'en va, n'a angle n'i ait quis,
 Des caaines li membre que Rudemars ot pris ;
 Une en a aportee, mais ço fu a envis.
 2210 Celi dist li orfevres : " C'est si bons ors jentis,
 Rouges, et par cestui ert l'autres colouris."
 Dont li dist la roïne : " As ent assez, amis ?
 Je quit bien puet soufire, se l'as en oevre mis."
 CIL font et forge et oevre le pié si com devant,
 2215 Si que la nes sist bien sor table fermemant ;
 Miudre est or assez et s'a le pois plus grant ;
 Molt plaist a la roïne l'uevre que voit parant.
 L'ovrier a soldoié de bon loier vaillant,
 Car il a faite l'uevre trestot a son talant.
 2220 Tant a fait la roïne par son loier donant,
 Qu'ele a les caaines de bon fin or luisant,
 C'orent entor les cols loié li .vi. enfant :
 Mais l'une en est desfaite, fondue en fu ardant,
 Et li enfant devinrent oisel en l'air volant.
 2225 Et tant sont aprocié le cuvert souduiant
 Qu'il ierent el vivier sos le castel vaillant
 U lor enseignes ierent que il vont porsivant.
 OR nos estuet ariere a l'estoire raler.
 Li ermites del bos qui si soloit garder
 2230 Les .vi. freres germaines qu'il ne pot endurer
 Qu'il eüscent mesaise, s'il lor peüst oster,
 Fu par matin alés a son mostier orer.
 La fu bien tant que tans fu de prime soner ;

- Pense soi que tans est qu'en labor doit aler,
 2235 Mais ains ira del pain a ses enfans doner.
 D'un grant pain torte d'orge vait .vii. pieces colper,
 Dont est venus au lit por eux desvoleper ;
 Ne troeve se dras non. " Qu'est ço, por S. Omer ?
 Sont nostre enfant si main la fors alé juer ? "
- 2240 Il va la u il suellent plus sovent converser,
 A tot le pain taillié les ala porgarder ;
 Quist amont et aval ses prist a apeler,
 Mais nus ne li respont, tant sace esfrois mener.
 Revient s'ent en maison, prist soi a regarder
- 2245 La u lor suer couça al vespre après souper.
 " Fille," dist il, " vos freres, quis fist si main lever ?
 Jo lor iere venus ça del pain apporter,
 Por mengier dusqu'a dont que nos devons disner,
 Car jo voloie aler .i. petit labourer ;
- 2250 Or criem molt qu'il ne puisent tant lor fain endurer."
 " Sire," dist la pucele, " jo les en vi voler ;
 Li pelerins salvages qui donastes souper,
 Il ala cascuns d'els entor le col limer,
 Dont si s'aparella si se prist a l'esrer.
- 2255 Mi frere s'esvellierent, tos les vi tresmuer
 Et par cele fenestre la fors as cans voler."
 " Fille," dist li hermites, " tu ne fais fors gaber."
 " Ne vos sai autre cose," fait ele, " raconter."
 Dist li sains hom : " A Deu s'en puisent il aler,
- 2260 El ciel avoec les angeles s'en puiscent il voler ;
 Tien, fille, prent cest pain, pense del desjuner,
 Et g'irai en l'ortel aucune cose ovrer."

MOLT fu dolans l'ermes de ses enfans petis,
 Car al norir avoit et coust et travail mis.

- 2265 Il n'en a autre duel en son cuer entrepris,
 Mais il prie por els, que li Sains Esperis
 Les avoit en tel liu qu'il ne soient malmis ;
 Nequedent s'atent il maintes nuis et mains dis,
 S'il en oroit noveles u en fais u en dis.
- 2270 Il a bien atendu semaines plus de .x.,
 Nus ne vient de proçain ne de loitain païs
 Qui li die ques ait veüs ne mors ne vis.
 Vient s'ent a la pucele qui li cuers est pensis
 Et dolans de ses freres qu'ele ot perdus tos .vi.

- 2275 Dist li : " Ma douce amie, comment vos est avis
De vos freres qu'avés ensi desmanevis ? "
" Sire," ce respont ele, " n'en ai ne giu ne ris,
Ains en est'en mon ventre mes cuers forment maris." 13^d
- 2280 " Pucele, ço est drois, perdu as .vi. amis,
Jo les ai longement et amés et cieris,
Et de ço que j'avoie et gardés et norris ;
Et jel fis volentiers, certes non a envis.
Alet en sont a Deu, ne sai quis a ravis ;
Or en soit Jhesus garde et li Sains Esperis
- 2285 Et tot li saint que Deus a avoec li eslis
Por manoir avoec lui en son saint paradis ;
Mien voel eüssent il al aler congié pris.
- " **A** MIE, fille douce, molt me venist a gre
Qu'il eüssent encore avoec moi demoré ;
- 2290 Porveü lor eüsce pain et dras, et doné,
Tant comme il peüssent sofrir ma poverté.
Mais puis que issi est, jo les conmant a De ;
De lor vie soit garde la sainte Trinité.
Douce suer, je vos ai pres de .vii. ans gardé,
- 2395 Bien quit que tot li .vii. sont conpli et passé ;
Et vos meïsme avoec, tot par mâ volenté,
En irés après eux u Deu venra a gre.
Ne vous voel mais garder, n'en voel estre encombré ;
Bel enfant a en vos, assez avés belté
- 2300 Et gent cors segnoril bien fait et bien mollé :
S'un robeor avoit en cest bos aresté,
Tost vos aroit fait lait et vos mēsaasmé,
Nient por le vostre preu, mais por sa volenté ;
N'en voel estre en cremor ne en malvais pensé.
- 2305 Alés a une vile u il ait pain et ble,
Servés a une dame tant qu'ele de son gre
Vos doinse por service et loier et bonté.
Gardés vos de folor, gardés vo caasté,
Cremés Deu et amés, de bien arés plenté."
- 2310 Et la pucele a tot oï et escouté,
Ne s'en pot pas tenir, durement a ploré :
" Sire, que dites vos, por Deu de majesté ?
Qui m'avra si le pain sans dangier apresté
Comme vos le m'aviés, et sans besoing, doné ?
- 2315 Nului ne conistrai quant tant arai erré ;

S'uns hom m'a une nuit en son toit ostelé,
 El demain par matin m'ara tost congeé.
 Sire, retenés moi, por sainte carité."

"Non ferai, voir, pucele, ne me vient pas a gre."

2320 Dont prent .i. mantelet gros tissu, tot usé,
 Celi a sor le cief et contreval jeté,
 Et un de ses pains d'orge li a desos bouté.

14^a

"Biele suer," dist l'ermite, "n'arés gaires alé,
 Quant qui que soit verrés d'errer aceminé,
 2325 Qui vos avoiera tant que arés trové
 Recet u borc u vile, castel u fremeté
 La u vos vaurés traire senpres a la vespré."

L'ERMITEs lait sa fille ens el cemin plorant,
 Si en revient ariere. Cele va regardant ;
 2330 Quant nel puet mais veïr, si va ses poins tordant.
 Assise s'est .i. poi, a tant es vos errant

.i. boskellon qui maine sa laigne a .i. jumant.
 "Damoisele," dist il, "vos menés dol molt grant,
 Qu'avés vos a plorer ? qui vos va destraignant ?"

2335 "Sire," dist la pucele, "ja mais en mon vivant
 N'arai jo si boin pere com je vois hui perdant ;
 Ci el bos m'a laisié, ens s'en reva muçant."

"Taisiés vos, bele nee, j'ai .i. petit enfant,
 Vos manrés avoec moi sel m'irés conportant ;

2340 Venés ent avoec moi." Ele lieve en estant
 Si porsiu le bon home qui le va cariant ;
 En maison est venus a soleil esconsant.

Evroïne, sa feme, li vient ester devant,
 En son braç li aporte son enfançon riant.

2345 Cil rue le caestre sor le col del jumant,
 L'enfant prent en ses mains sel baise en acolant.
 "Evroïne," dist il, "je vos amaint sergant
 Qui no fil nos ira au mains ci delitant."

"Sire," dist Evroïne, "n'alés pas ço disans ;

2350 Il n'a en tot cest siecle arme nule vivant
 Qui je creïsse mie a garder mon enfant.
 Mais une nuit u deus li soferrons ; a tant
 Voist querre sen esduit al Damedeu conmant."

IL s'en vient en maison, sa laigne a descargie
 2355 Et sa beste traiant a le grebe loïe,

- Et la dame Evroïne s'ostesse a herbregie,
De sa viande l'a une nuit pastoïe;
El demain l'a au mius qu'ele pot consellie.
"A .x. liues ci pres siet molt bien aaisie
2360 Une vile u li rois Lotaires tient maisnie,
Et si fait cascun jor molt grande departie;
Arme qui i venra n'en ira ja faillie,
Qu'ele n'ait tant de pain qu'en sostenra sa vie.
Por l'arme sa moillier qui del siecle est partie,
2365 Bien a .vii. ans passés qu' isi fu establie
L'aumosne a la roi cort, ne encor ne falt mie.
La irés vos manoir, bele suer, doce amie;
En .ii. jors i venrés souavet ains conplie."
La pucele respont et forment l'en mercie
2370 "Damedex le vos mire, bien m'avés consellie."
Or s'en va la pucele, Dex li soit en aïe;
Bien a le jor alé .iiij. liues et demie,
En une vile en èntre, d'ostel ne rova mie;
Enmi le vile estut comme feme esbahie,
2375 Garde amont et aval et nule rien n'espie.
La avoit une dame a son huis apoïe,
La pucele vit simple et de biauté garnie,
Et a li herbergier ses cuers li asouplie.
A li parole et dist: "Dont estes vos, amie?
2380 Que porgardés vos ci? avés vos compaignie?"
Cele li respondi comme feme asouplie:
"Dame, je sui del bos, si m'en sui departie;
Mes pere ne me velt mais avoir en baillie,
Si m'en sui ça venue, Dex me soit en aïe;
2385 Jo n'ai nient d'ostel, ne de pain une mie."
"Bele suer," dist la dame, "ne vos esmaïés mie,
Hui mais remanrés ci, en ma herbergerie;
Vos arés bon conseil, si jo puis, et m'aïe,
Que ne remanrés pas o moi desconsellie."
2390 En maison sont alees, s'a celi aaisie
Desci qu'a l'endemain, que li jors esclarcie;
Del soleil qui leva est li caure raïe.
Les povres gens assanblent a la cort segnorie;
La seent et atendent tant c'aient recoillie
2395 L'aumosne qui sera a cascun departie
Por l'arme la roïne, que Dex ait en baillie.

- "Bele suer," dist l'ostese, "bien est drois que vos die :
 Vos irés a la cort a la grant departie,
 Si averés del pain por soutenir vo vie
 2400 .I. jor trestot entier descî que a conplie ;
 S'irés a la fontaine qui laval cort serie
 (N'est mie lonc de ci, n'i a c'une hucie),
 Se vos en aportés une boine buirie ;
 La voie est ça desos, ne puet estre cangie."
- 2405 **L**ORS respont la pucele : " Dame, molt volentiers ;
 Mais por ce que n'i faille, g'irai al pain premiers."
 Son mantel affubla qui molt estoit legiers,
 Qui de drap ert sans pel et si n'estoit pas ciers ;
 Vait s'ent laiens as autres si estut sor ses piés,
 2410 Se main trait et del pain li done l'aumosniers.
 Dont s'en va as fontaines, droit al cor des rivièrs
 Ki la sorgent et corent desous les oliviers, 14^c
 Por le bonté de l'eve dont bels est li gravièrs ;
 S'asist la la pucele en qui n'est nus dangiers,
 2415 De mangier la son pain li est pris desiriers.
 Ele le brise en l'eve, bons li est li moilliers ;
 Seciés ert en son sain, s'en ert grans li mestiers.
- L**I cisne ont aperciut celi son pain mangant ;
 Li un viennent al no et li autre a volant,
 2420 La pucele qui'st la revont reconnoissant.
 Ele n'en connoist nul fors tant oisel volant
 Li samble que ço sont, et paor en a grant.
 Il viennent entor li, ele lor va souffrant,
 Le pain en la fontaine prennent premierement ;
 2425 Ele n'ose vers eux contrestier de niant,
 Por ço qu'il ont noirs bes, lons cols et grant carpant.
 Quant cius de la fontaine lor falt, tot erranment
 Si vont querre de l'autre en son geron devant.
 Cele est tote esbahie qui son pain va perdant ;
 2430 Quant ele n'en a mie, arriere va plorant,
 A paines ot sa buire enplie al riu corant ;
 Li oisel li venoient lor bes a li frotant.
 En maison vient ariere, ne vait mie targant.
- L**'OSTES vit la pucele durement exploree.
 2435 "Comment est," dist a li, "pucele bele nee ?
 Ki vos fist nule rien ? dites moi vo pensee."

- Ce respont la pucele : " Molt m'ont espoentee
 Li oisel del vivier, qui a une volee
 Me corurent tot sus quant jô fui avalee
 2440 Aval vers la fontaine por prendre une potee;
 Moi sambloit que deïsce tote estre devoree;
 Mon pain que j'euc jeté aval en la ramee
 M'eurent il ains mangié que fuisce regardee,
 Et quant il lor fali, ainc n'i ot demoree,
 2445 Le piece que jo tinc es mains m'ont il hapee,
 Et puis en mon escorç trestote la mïee;
 Hui mais morrai de fain, n'en ai mie servée.
- CILLE ce dist li ostes : " Molt me puis mervellier
 Que li cisne le roi vos varent aprochier;
 2450 Feristes ent vos nul? on n'en ose .i. toucier;
 Li rois en vaut ocire son neveu avantier,
 Por çou que il i traist une fois d'arc manier."
 " Onques n'en touçai nul, dame, par S. Ricier."
 " Vos fesistes bien, fille, car a grant destorbier
 2455 Vos tornast, que li rois vos fesist escillier;
 De mon pain vos donrai hui mais assez mangier,
 Demain en irés querre de l'autre al aumosnier.
 Et se je le voi ci aler ne cevalchier,
 Je vos ferai li plait que mellor recovrier
 2460 En arés vos par moi, car en bien l'ai molt cier.
 A tant cil passe la, si va esbanoier.
 L'ostesse l'apela : " Ça venés, Herquegier;
 Ves ci une pucele dont je vos voel proier
 Que vos bien li faciés, car ele en a mestier;
 2465 Grant aumosne feroit quel poroit consellier."
 " Dont estes vos, pucele, nel me devés noier?"
 " Sire," dist la pucele, " je vinc del bos l'autr'ier.
 Ça m'envoia mes pere, ne mæ vaut plus aidier,
 Jo m'en sui çà venue a le cort roi Lotier
 2470 Por avoir de l'aumosne, jo en ai grant mestier."
 " Bele," dist li vallés, " se vos m'aviiés chier,
 A le fois vos donroie de pain plus grant quartier;
 Levés haut vo visage, on ne doit pas bronchier."
 Prist le par le menton, se li a fait haucier :
 2475 " Qu'est çou, ma douce amie, que voi la roujoier?
 Moi sanble que ço soit de laiton u d'or mier."

- "Sire, ce est m'ensegne; qu'en avés a plaidier?
 Jo la portai al naistre, del ventre a la moillier
 Qui .ix. mois me porta; quant vint al travellier,
 2480 Si fumes .vii. enfant, d'un ventre parçonier,
 Dont cascuns ot ensegne ausi faite d'or mier.
 Morte en fu nostre mere, Dex qui nôs puet aidier
 Et en arme et en cors puist s'ame consellier;
 Jo qui sui sans conseil ne me voelle obliier."
 2485 "Bele," dist li vallés, "n'aiés soing d'esmaier,
 Se vos volés bien faire et souffrir mon dangier,
 Je me vuraî pener de vo bien avancier."

- L**I senescals s'en va, ne velt plus demorer,
 Tot le jor et la nuit ne fina de penser
 2490 Qu'il velt a la pucele priveement parler;
 Engien li estuet faire, comment porra errer?
 Il les laira trestos en la cort aüner;
 Al cor u la pucele estoit alee ester,
 Ne velt pas cele part commencer a doner,
 2495 Car il vaura a li sa donee finer.
 Il cerke tot les rens, haste soi del doner;
 Quant vint a la pucele, son don li fait doubler,
 Del pain li done assez plus qu'ele n'ost rover.
 D'illuec s'en est torneë la pucele al vis cler;
 2500 As fontaines s'en va por de l'eve apporter,
 Et si desire molt les oisiaus esgarder.
 Al riu siet et son pain commence ens a jeter;
 Li oisel qui pres ierent ne varent demorer,
 Li un vienent a no et li autre a voler.
 2505 La pucele nes vaut de rien espaventer;
 Il manguent le pain la u voient floter,
 Cele lor suefre tot ne nes velt destorber.
 Li senescals le roi, qui nel velt oblier
 Et grant desirier a qu'il voelle a li parler,
 2510 Sa despense commande .i. serjant a garder.
 De lonc vient, car il velt son afaire mirer;
 Voit entor la pucele les oisiaus pasturer.
 Ki li desist ançois, nel vausist creanter
 Que si priveement osascent abiter
 2515 Li oisel entor li, qui s'en soelent voler
 Quant nus hom les soloit veïr ne esgarder.
 Li senescals commence le petit pas aler,

- Ains cele n'en sot mot, sel vit les li ester
 Et li cisne commencent tot vers lui a sifler.
- 2520 Après celi s'asist si le vaut acoler,
 Et cele l'aparoie com ja oïr porés :
 "Ahi ! bels sire, en vos a si bel baceler,
 Quel desirier avés de povre cose amer,
 Quant vos en tant maint liu poés trover vo per ?"
- 2525 Uns des cisnes s'eslieve, del giu le va haster,
 Que parmi le visage li fait l'ele cingler.
 Cil jete après la main, por ariere bouter ;
 Li autres par deseure l'est venus assener,
 Si le fiert en la teste, le capel fist voler.
- 2530 Li tiers le vait gaitant, por bien son colp jeter ;
 Tot .vi. li vont assez grant entente livrer.
 Tart li est qu'il se puist d'illueques desevrer ;
 Son chief de son mantel prent a envoleper,
 Si s'en fuit quanque pié l'en porent ains porter.
- 2535 Li oisel se sont mis ariere a retorner ;
 A la pucele vont et joïr et froter,
 Por çou qu'il l'ont tensee del cointe baceler
 Qui la estoit venus a li por desreer.
 De la fontaine prent plain pot por apporter
- 2540 A l'ostesse qui l'a fait .ij. nuis osteler.
- L**I senescals s'en est a cort venus fuiant,
 Encor quidoit il bien que li oisel volant
 Jusques a sa despense le venissent caçant ;
 Assis s'est et li sans li revint en seant.
- 2545 " Por les sains Deu !" dist il, " comme vois esmaiant
 Por .iij. oisels u .iiij., se jes vi la volant ;
 Et por çou si me vient a merveille si grant,
 C'onques tel oisel eurent sens et memore tant.
 Jo quit que mal espir vinrent en els entrant."
- 2550 Sus lieve si s'en va ens el palais plus grant
 A son segnor parler, sel troeve la seant
 Sor une keute painte de paille escarimant.
 Dormi avoit .i. poi, ses dois aloit frotant.
 " Que çou est, senescal ? quel cose alés querant ?"
- 2555 " Sire, par les sains Deu, molt me vois mervellant
 D'une cose qui est hui cest jor avenant.
 En cest vostre castel a .i. molt bel enfant,
 Molt bele mescinete, joyenete et croissant ;

- A vostre aumosne vient, son pain querre et royant.
 2560 .I. mantelet afuble, son chief en va covrant ;
 Une caaine d'or a entor le col grant
 Et si fu nee atot, ço me va racontant ;
 Al pain vient, ele en ot .i. bel don avenant ;
 Un pot prist s'en ala al fontenel corant
 2565 U vostre .vi. oisel sont el vivier noant.
 Jo le sivi après por veïr son sanblant.
 Car j'euc a li parlé ançois le jor devant.
 Al fontenel seoit, la le trovai brisant
 Son pain en la fontaine, et li .vi. oisel blanc
 2570 Venoient entor li tot .vi. son pain mangant.
 En ses mains le prenoient, en son escorç devant,
 Ausi con les eüst norris priveemant.
 Jo m'asis la après tot porpenseemant
 Por acointier a li, por veoir son talant.
 2575 L'uns des oisials me vint de l'ele el front cinglant,
 Que tot li oel me furent d'angoisse estincelant ;
 Et li autre s'eslieve sor moi en l'air volant,
 Si me fëri de l'ele que il enmi le camp
 M'abati mon capel que j'euc el chief seant ;
 2580 Et li autre s'eslievent par ausi fait talant.
 Jo sali sus tos liés qu'en peuc venir fuïant ;
 Jo cremi que aucuns esperis malfaisant
 I eüst li deables envoiet la batant ;
 Encor criem que n'i soient mis par encantement."
 2585 "Senescals," dist li rois, "mervelles vas contant ;
 Mes cisnes lai tos cois, ne les va quivriant ;
 Mais a la mescinete me feras connissant
 Le matinet a l'ore de l'aumosne donant.
 Por çou que de son pain ait aucun remanant,
 2590 Jo woel, quant tel verras, que tu l'en dones tant
 Que ele en puist doner auques a son talant
 As cisnes, s'ele vait demain al riu corant.
 Por çou vaurai savoir se me vas voir disant."
 Dist li senescals : "Sire, tot au vostre conmant
 2595 Vos me verés demain al doner esgardant ;
 Et tant vos di jo bien, por estre apercevant :
 La u vos me verrés del doner arestant,
 Que jo metrai .iii. pains en son escorç devant,
 C'ert cele que jo di, celi alés sivant."

2600 " Bien as dit, senescal, et jo plus ne demant."

L I jors vient, la nuis passe, l'endemain est venus.
D'une corte reube est rois Lotaires vestus ;
Alés est oïr messe, et o lui de ses drus ;
Aprés messe si est del mostier descendus.

2605 " Senescal," dist li rois, " que iés tu devenus ?
Ces povres gens t'atendent, en nen feras tu plus ?"

" Sire," dist li vallés, " se mes pains ert fendus
Et j'estoie en la place ques eüsce veüs,
Ja avroient del pain, que ja n'i fauroit nus ;

2610 Et s'atendoie aïe .i. vallet qui'st la jus."
" Vels tu que jo t'aïe ? je sui fors et membrus."

" Oje, sire, enon Deu, que bien soiés venus,
Car que plus i ferés, tant i perderés plus.

" Gardés dont," dist li rois, " ne soit hui mais fendus

2615 N'esquartelés nus pains, tos entirs soit rendus.

Tant ara la soie ame, ce quit, mellor salus
Devant Deu et ses sains en paradis la sus,
Por qui li pains sera donés et expandus.

L I senescals a fait pain apporter assez,

2620 Car li rois est venus del doner aprestés ;

Il n'est del departir nient acostumés :
Por ço que venus est, de tant est enmiudrés
Li dons, quant pains entirs est a cascun donés.
Neporquant je vos di, bien a .vii. ans passés

2625 Qu'il commence a doner, encor ne fu lassez.

Tant a doné li rois que avant est alés ;
Ausi com a une autre li est uns pains donés.
Et li senescals dist : " Damoisele, tenés ; "

Si l'en done encor .i. ; li rois s'est regardés,

2630 Si s'est aperceüs et si s'est porpensés
Que ce est cele dont il queroit les vertés.

Or vausist il ja estre del doner escapés,
Et cele vausist estre a l'eve vers les pres,
Por veoir les oisials que tant a enamés.

2635 La est a tot .i. pot ses oires aprestés,
Por apporter de l'eve dont sa dame ait assés.

Assise s'est au riu, es les vos avolés,
Tos les cisnes ensanble, qui li vont de tos les
Por avoir de cel pain qui la ert aportés.

- 2640 Ele en fraint et si brise, si lor en done assés.
 Ez vos le roi quil siut de lonc, tos aprestés,
 Tos seus et sans conpaigne, d'une cape afublés,
 Ausi com se il fust serjans a cort mandés.
 Vint la s'i s'est assis desore al destre les,
- 2645 Et cele s'esmerveille, et dist : " Ci que querés ?
 Sire, frans damoisials, quels est or vos pensés ?
 Ier en i vint uns autres, mais il fu si menés
 N'i venra mais, ço quit, si ert li mois passés,
 Car li oisel le roi que vos ici veés
- 2650 Le hurterent si fort des ciés de lor eles,
 Que il en fu tos liés quant il fu escapés :
 Ausi feront il vos, se auques i seés."
 "Bele suer," dist li rois, "avés vos encantés
 Les oisials qu'a vo main avés fait si privés?
- 2655 Vos lor brisiés le pain, il le prennent de gres;
 Or m'en donés .i. poi, esprover m'i verrés
 S'il vers moi esteroient ausi de volentés.
 Donés m'ent, bele suer, le foi que me devés;
 Quant jo iere al aumosne, assés en averés."
- 2660 **L**I rois a pris le pain, les oisiaus en puira,
 Bien les a greés tant que mie endura;
 Nequedent en son cuer de ço s'esmervella
 Que il sont si privé; ainc mais nes asaia.
 Poise li que sovent n'i estoit venus la.
- 2665 Li sens que il avoient si les aprevisa
 La u truevent amor que nul barat n'i a.
 Après tot çou li rois vers li se retorna :
 "Pucele," dist li rois, "qui vos envoia ça ?
 De quel païs venistes et qui vos amena ?
- 2670 Et qu'est çou a vo col que voi roujoier la ?"
 La pucele l'esgarde et respondu li a :
 "Mes pere qui el bos a mes molt grant, pieç'a
 Nos .vii. enfans garda tant que .vii. ans passa.
 La nuit .i. pelerin qui la vint herbrega,
- 2675 Vit mes freres ensamble et molt les esgarda,
 Et les caaines d'or molt longement visa
 Que cascuns ot al col, que al naistre aporta.
 Malade se fist molt, ainc la nuit ne manga,
 Esgarde que ma dame les .vi. enfans couça,
- 2680 En .i. lit et d'un drap tos les acouveta.

- On me couça aillors ; garde ne s'en dona.
 El demain par matin quant .i. poi esclaira
 Et mi frere dormirent, onques nus n'en vella,
 Coiement leva sus, les loiens d'or enbla.
 2685 Ne sai por quel engien, mais molt cos les colpa.
 Puis se mist a la voie, moi sanble qu'en ala ;
 Ala s'ent ne sai u, ne sai quel part torna.
 Mi frere s'esvellierent et jetent ça et la
 Lor bras, que blance plume tos les acoveta.
 2690 Il se leverent sus, li premiers s'en vola,
 Et tot li autre après, nesun remés n'en a.
 Adonques vint mes pere, que del pain m'aporta
 Por els doner mangier, mais nul n'en i trova ;
 Puis les quist sus et jus assez et ça et la.
 2695 ' Fille, u sont li enfant ? ' mes pere demanda ;
 Et jo li respondi que cascuns enpluma
 Trestos de blances plumes et puis si s'en vola.
 Quant cascuns fu la fors, ne sai u il ala,
 Et bien .i. an après, petit plus demora,
 2700 Si me prist par le main, et del pain me querka ;
 A .i. quaré sentier me mist s'i me laissa.
 Tant fis puis que jo vinc a cel bel castel la,
 S'ai vescu de l'aumosne le roi c'on me dona."
 " Pucele," dist li rois, " el col qui vos loia
 2705 La caaine de l'or que rogoier voi la ? "
 " Del ventre la portai u Nature l'ovra
 Et Damedex avant, qui tot puet et pora ;
 Çou me dist que c'ert voirs cil qui ci m'envoia."
 " **P**UCELE," dist li rois, " merveille m'as conté ;
 2710 Poroit ço estre voirs ? dis me tu verité ? "
 " Oïl, voir," respont cele, " ensi m'est aconté."
 " Pucele," dist li rois, " venés a seürté
 A l'aumosne le roi ; volentiers et de gre
 En averois vos tant qu'il seront rasasé,
 2715 Li cisne del vivier, ja n'en aiez durté ;
 Et vos meïsme avoec jusc'al jor apresté."
 " Sire, Dex le vos mire, li rois de majesté,
 Et le roi autresi qui par sa grant bonté
 A establi l'aumosne de son droit ireté,
 2720 Por l'ame sa moillier, dont il a salveté

Mete l'arme en son ciel, en paradis regné.

- R**OIS Lotaires s'en part et si va' molt pensant
 De çou que la pucele li ala gehissant,
 Qu'en la maison l'ermite estoient .vii. enfant,
 2725 Et cascuns ot el col caaine d'or luisant
 Que del ventre apporterent la lor mere al naisant.
 Et les .vi. en perdirent par laron souduiant. 16^b
 "Quels sisnes puet ço estre ? molt m'en vois mervellant ;
 Aucun sisne roial va li ors demostrant,
 2730 Mainte fois ai eü molt mon cuer mervellant
 Des dis que j'oï dire Eliox le saçant,
 Que la premiere nuit en nostre lit gisant
 Que me deliteroie avoec li carnelmant,
 De nostre engenrement istroient .vii. enfant
 2735 Dont cascuns aroit sisne d'or a son col pendant ;
 Et tot d'une litiere seroient li enfant
 Et lignie en iroit descî en Orian.
 De tot icest afaire ne voi ne tant ne quant,
 Et ma mere me dist et si me fist saçant
 2740 Que ele avoit eü jo ne sai quel serpent
 Qui l'ot envenimee, laisa le mort gisant ;
 Li serpens s'en ala lāsus en l'air volant.
 U ma mere u ma feme, li quels que soit, me mant ;
 J'en sarai la verté, que qu'ele voist targant."
 2745 Tot issi com il ert, ardans de maltalant,
 Est montés el palais, n'en dist n'en fait sanblant
 Que il soit irascus de rien ne tant ne quant.
 Puis entre en une canbre s'i a veü pendant
 Une espee dont sont li cotel bien treçant.
 2750 Il l'en porte avoec lui sos son mantel covrant,
 Venus est a sa mere, si le trova seant
 En sa canbre en .i. lit tote sole couçant.
 Ele le voit venir si li dist en riant :
 "Bels fils, dont venés vos, et qu'alés vos querant ?"
 2755 "Mere," ço dist li rois, "molt ai le cuer dolant,
 Quant de ma ciere amie me va resovenant
 Que j'ai sans nul confort perdu sifaitement ;
 Ne jo ne puis savoir s'ele porta enfant
 (Le ventre vi jo gros, si le vi soslevant),
 2760 Ne de sa mort ne sai com li fu convenant.
 Dites m'ent la verté, si com jel vos conmant,

- Car jo le voel savoir, ne m'en celés niant."
 "Bels fils," ço dist la mere, "el porta .i. serpent
 Qui toute l'entosça d'un envenimement.
 2765 Morir estut la bele dont ai le cuer pesant."
 "Non, mere," dist li rois, "vos dirés autrement;
 Molt m'avés or mené par lonc fabloiment,
 Mais par le foi que doi a Damedeu le grant
 Le cief vos couperai de m'espee treñçant
 2770 (Si l'a sacie fors forbie et flanboiant),
 S'autre cose ne dites; ja n'en arés garant."
 La dame est esfrée, si jeta .i. cri grant: 16^c
 "Bels flux, jo te portai et norri alaitant,
 Garde toi que deables ne te voist engignant;
 2775 Honerer dois ta mere, ce troeve l'en lisant;
 S'autres li faisoit cose qui li alast nuisant,
 Se li devroies tu aidier tot erranmant."
 "Mere," ce dist li rois, "la verté vos demant,
 De la mort Elixo me soiés voir disant;
 2780 Se nel dites molt tost, ja sarés com treñçant
 Sont li cotel de fer que tieng ci en presant:"
 Dont aesme son coup por li bouter avant.
 "BELS flux," ço dist la mere, "vels tu me vergonder,
 Qui ta mere vels ci ne sacier ne bouter?
 2785 Mon pecié te dirai, sel me dois pardonner."
 "Dites, mere, del tot vos voel quite clamer,
 Par si que ne doies ne mentir ne fauser;
 La mençoigne porés durement conperer,
 Et se vos dites voir, ce vos puet delivrer,
 2790 Ne ja en nule rien ne m'orés reprover."
 "Fiux, entent, puis que jo m'os si asseürer.
 Tu oras ma confiese, por Deu or del celer:
 Te feme ot .vii. enfans, ce me vinrent conter
 Les dames qui la furent; quant el dut delivrer
 2795 On laisça les enfans a la terre witrer,
 S'entendi on a li quant el dut delivrer.
 L'endemain quant oï des .vii. enfans parler,
 Ses rovai coiemment en la forest porter
 U les truiست salvegine por els tos devourer.
 2800 La les envoiai tos, plus ne vos sai conter,
 Car nes osoie mie ici pres essorber;
 Et de çou vos voel jo, bels fils, pardon rover."

"Mere, encor vos voel jo autre rien demander :

- 2805 "MÈRE," ce dist li rois, "jo vos ai pardoné,
Mais encor i remaint assez de la verté,
Que tot li .vii. enfant fûrent encaainé
Al naistre entor lor col de fin or esmeré :
Ces caaines demant, si en faites mon gre."
"Bels fils," ço dist la mere, "por sainte carité,
2810 Jo nes vi ne nes tinc, ainques n'i fû gardé
De moi ne de ma part, voir t'en ai dit, par De."
Et li rois li respont : "U ja ert conperé,
U ja me les rendrés !" — "Fiux, or m'est ramenbré
Que tu envoias querre l'atrean par ton regné
2815 A tes provos ta rente, que il, a jor nomé,
Le t'eüscent trestot devant toi aporté ;
Si trova mes serjans par qui ço fu mandé
.VII. enfans en l'ostel u on l'ot ostelé,
S'avoient .viii. caaines entor lor col noé,
2820 D'un sanblant, d'un afaire, et tot .vii. d'un aé ;
En un vaisseï mangoient çou c'on lor ot doné.
Quant il vint, sel me dist çou qu'il avoit trové,
Jo li priaï, si cïer qu'il avoit m'amisté,
K'il ne finast ja mais sel m'eüst aporté
2825 Trestot l'or des caaines que il avoit miré.
Il s'en rala ariere, tant a quis et pené
Que çou que li rovai m'a porquis et doné :
.VI. en euc des loiens, .i. en ai jo osté.
Menbre vos que vos vi si fort maltalenté,
2830 Quant pres vostre neveu, par male volenté,
Jetastes vo nef d'or a .i. piler mollé
Par issi grant aïr qu'ele ot le pié quassé ?
De l'or qui devant fu et d'autre c'ai sevré
Et d'un des .vi. loiens ai le pié restoré.
2835 Or en te mainent .v., la sont tot apresté,
Et vos les arés ja volentiers et de gre,
Par si que maltalent m'aiés tot pardoné."
La dame lieve sus, si li a aporté ;
Et il les a reciut, ses a molt regardé
2840 Et en sa cambre mis et repus et salvé.

O R set auques li rois de çou qu'il a enquis,
Car sa mere meïsme l'en a assés apris :
S'une autre eüst çou fait, ses cors en fust homis,

- Mais por çou qu'est sa mere, ne l'en sera ja pis.
 2845 De çou que il a dit molt en remaint pensis ;
 Dusc'al demain atent, que jors fu esclarcis,
 Et tant que l'aumosne est, et li pains, departis,
 Un mantel cort affuble, s'est a la voie mis ;
 Ses caaines en porte, et si a .ii. pains pris
 2850 Por doner as oisiaus qui des gens sont eskis.
 Il va si contr'atent la pucele au cler vis,
 Par li les quide plus avoir amanevis ;
 Mais ne sens ne memoire n'est mie en els faillis,
 Ains ont bien retenu le sens d'ome et apris
 2855 Que c'est lor suer que la avoit venu tans dis.
 Nature et Destinee i ont lor contredis ;
 Nature velt que hom si soit de sens garnis,
 Et Destinee dist le merc qu'ele i a mis,
 Et dist que de son droit sera a li sougis ;
 2860 Ne velt por nule rien soit fausé ne faillis.
 Nature dist partot doit bien estre hom servis ;
 S'en aporta l'ensegne dont fu parlé, col pris.
 A çou s'embat Fortune, si escoute ces dis ;
 Dist que .ii. adversaires fera molt tost amis.
 2865 Ele amaine celui qui de l'or ert baillis
 Que lor ot Destinee tot entor le col mis.
 La pucele vient la, si siet as fontenis ;
 Li oisel s'aperçoivent si sont venus tot sis.
 Cele froisse le pain, si fu bien recoillis
 2870 Des oisiaus, car cascuns fu ja de pain norris.
 Es vos le roi qui vient, tot soëf s'est assis
 Les la pucele a destre, et dist li, ço m'est vis :
 "Damoisele," fait il, "il m'est molt bien avis,
 Que les oisiaus avés en mainburnie mis,
 2875 De vostre pain avront, quels que soit, blans u bis."
 "Sire," dist la pucele, et si leva le vis,
 "Cascuns va volentiers la u il a apris,
 Et la meïsmement u ses pains li est quis.
 Puis la premiere fois n'i fu fais contredis,
 2880 Car jo ai cascun jor de mon pain que j'ai quis
 A ces oisiaus doner brisiés es fontenis,
 Et cascuns a esté del prendre volentis."
 "PUCELE," dist li rois, "et se jo lor puïroie,
 Venoient il a moi ? volentiers lor donroie ;

- 2885 Se vos le me loiés, ja droit l'asaieroie,
 Un pain que jo tieng ci devant els froieroie.
 A tant trait fors le pain et devant els le froie.
 Quant il virent le pain, cascuns après coloie,
 Vientent et si le prennent; nus d'els ne s'en effroie.
- 2890 Entrues qu'il gardent jus il met main a corioie,
 Sace une des caaines et .i. des oisiaus loie;
 Adont le sace a lui, si le tire et avoie
 Tant que fors des fontaines l'a mis a droite voie.
 Cil ne s'eslonge mie ne ne fuit ne desroie.
- 2895 Il s'esqueut, et sa plume qui plus que nois blançoie
 Est devenus blans dras, que onques n'i ot roie,
 Dont il remaint vestus; et puis, que vos diroie?
 Il est devenus hom et li rois s'en effroie;
 Vers sa seror regarde, dont li cuers li tenroie,
- 2900 Et dist: "Damoisials sire, certes encor vauroie
 Que fesissiés ausi celui qui la coloie."
 Li rois li jete el col le loien si le loie,
 Sel sace fors de l'eve, et cil point ne desroie,
 Ains s'en vient volentiers et s'en a molt grant joie;
- 2905 Et Nature li cange erranment sa monoie:
 D'un oisel fait .i. home, et le roi point n'anoie
 Sa plume et vesteüre qui cuevre et aombroie
 Sa car, qui del grant halle et de l'aige noirçoie.
- 2910 **L**i rois se pot forment de tel rien merveillier,
 Quant li oisel se laisce en tant aprivoier
 C'on li puet la caaine en tor le col lacier,
 Et on le maine a terre sans tirer et sacier,
 Et Nature li vaut sifaitement aidier
 Qu'il reprent forme d'ome; en lui a bon ovrier,
- 2915 Ki par miracle fait la cose ensi cangier.
 Li rois a pris la tierce caaine de l'or mier,
 Li tiers oisiaus se laise molt bien aplanoier,
 Et il li gete el col sans plus de l'atargier;
 Ausi avint cestui com il fust au premier.
- 2920 Que vos tenroie jo ici par fabloier?
 .II. caaines avoit, celes velt emploier,
 Et cil li vinrent pres por eus aparellier.
 Li doi en vinrent fors, vont s'ent a conpaignier
 As trois qui la estoient; puis prennent a plaidier,

2925 Et dient c'ont esté longes peneancier ;
 Dex lor a fait merci, sel doivent gracier.
 Encor en remaint uns noant par le ravier
 Qui volentiers venist ester al camp plenier.
 Il n'est qui li ajut, ne li a que puirier

2930 Li rois ; ce poise lui, ci a grant destorbier,
 Quant li .v. en iroent par terre esbanoier
 Et il remanra seus en l'aigue del vivier.

O R sont tot .v. ensamble si sont entr'els parlant,
 L'uns en parla premiers qui se tint a saçant :

2935 " Longes avons esté, bels frere, peneant,
 Et Damedex nos a faite merci si grant
 Par le main cest pseudome que veés ci seant ;
 Mercions Damedeu, le pere tot puissant
 Et cel pseudome la, molt me sanble vaillant :

2940 Mais nos ne lairons mie après nos remanant
 No seror, ains li ermes ci et aillors aidant.
 Avoec nos le menrons aventure querant,
 Bien sai que c'est no suer et bien est aparant,
 Bone enseigne en a ele, veable et connisçant ;

2945 Ensamble nos norri l'ermite al poil ferrant.
 No frere que laisons en l'eve remanant,
 Nos ne li poons nient de rien estre aidant."

Es vos a ces paroles vint li rois maintenant :

" Que c'est, segnor?" dist il, " qu'alés vos dementant ?

2950 Encore i a tel cose dont ne savés niant.
 Entre vos savés bien et estes conissant
 Ke vos fustes .vi. frere, norri en .i. herbant ;
 S'avés une seror, pucele et avenant :
 En est ele çou la que vos veés seant?"

2955 " Oil," respondent il, " par Deu omnipotent."
 " Enfant," ço dist li rois, " jo dirai mon sanblant :
 Ançois que jo eüsse espousé loiaument
 Elioxe la bele, a qui Deus soit garant,
 Me devina la bele qu'estroient .vii. enfant

2960 De li, et lor linages iroit en Oriant.
 Al naistre aroit cascuns .i. loien d'or luisant
 Entor le col laciet, c'est une enseigne grant.
 Li enfant furent né, ele remest morant,
 Et Dex en mete l'arme en l'ort S. Abrahant.

- 2965 Ç'a esté une cose dont j'ai esté dolant :
 Porté furent el bos, ne sai u ; forvoiant
 Ont grant termine esté, .vii. an furent pasant,
 C'uns serjans lor embla a cisoire treçant
 Lor enseignes qu'il orent entor le col pendant ;
 2970 A .vi. en aporta ma mere a sauf faisant ;
 Jel seuc, ses demandai, des .v. me fist creant,
 La siste ot aloee a une nef d'or grant ;
 Vos .v. en avés vos, n'en a plus aparant.
 Por çou wel jo prover, vos estes mi enfant,
 2975 Vos manrés avoec moi, des rices fiés tenant,
 Car jo tieng cest roïame, si j'ai en mon conmant
 .VII. cités et .l. castels segnerilmant ;
 Si serés chevalier et mi ami aidant,
 Et jou marierai ma fille hautement,
 2980 Soit a roi u a prince u duc u amirant ;
 Si arai des nevels, s'ierent mi bien aidant.
 Cel oisel que la voi en cel rivier noant
 Ferai jo bien garder ; dusqu'a .xxx. serjant
 Le garderont la nuit et le jor autretant."
 2985 **L** I rois prent le vallet qui premerains parla,
 En la face le baise, et puis si l'acola,
 Et lui et tos les autres tos uns a uns baisa ;
 Porvint a la pucele et conjoïe l'a.
 "Fille," dist la pucele, "benois soit qui vos a
 2990 Nourie jusqu'a hui ; ço qu'il ot vos dona ;
 Il vos norri por Deu," (adont li rois plora),
 "Mais desore en avant saverés que pora
 Faire qui carnelment tos .vii. vos engenra.
 Dex ait merci de li qui es flans vos porta ;
 2995 Ele songa .i. songe qui voir senefia,
 Qu'ele avoit .vii. pumetes que en son lit muça ;
 Les .vi. en embla on et les keues coupa,
 Les pumes rua puer et les keues salva ;
 Vos caines sont les keues que on si bien garda,
 3000 Mais de vostre seror li lere forvoia :
 Repuse fu, espoir, u icil l'oublia.
 Assez conois celui qui si les vos coupa
 Et qui couper les fist, mais vos nel sarés ja.
 Venés ent avoec moi, car assez vos donra
 3005 Damedex qui nos tos a s'ymage forma.

- L** I rois s'en va ariere a gente compaignie,
 Et li cisnes de l'aigue forment après colie.
 Li rois vient el palais u sa compaignie guie;
 Li chevalier l'esgardent et tote sa maisnie.
 3010 Plantols parole a lui, car il de lui se fie:
 "Sire oncles, qui est ore cele bacelerie?
 Bien sanblent trestot frere, qui c'autre cose en die."
 "Par Deu," ço dist li rois, "il sont de ma lignie,
 Si lor portés honor, si ferés cortoisie;
 3015 Car il aront o moi çaiens tel segnorie
 Com ses eüst portés Elioxe m'amie,
 Dont l'arme ait Damedex qui tot bien saintefie.
 Ceste puciele ci, ele sera m'amie,
 Ele ara mon conseil et ma force et m'aïe.
 3020 Je le marierai a prince de baillie,
 S'en arai des parens, s'enforcera m'aïe.
 Dont s'en entre en la canbre de marbre labastrie;
 La a trové sa mere seant, si s'esbanie
 A une soie niece de biauté raplenie.
 3025 "Dame," ce dist li rois, "en cure et en baillie
 Vos bail ceste pucele, que jo tieng a amie,
 Et jo woel qu'ele soit ausi de vos cierie."
L I vallet sont a cort a molt grant segnorage,
 Molt i a bels vallés, tot sanblent d'un eage;
 3030 Il porsivent le roi quel part qu'il onques aille,
 Il se pruevent molt bien cascuns en vaselage.
 S'il parolent a gent, bien sanblent estre sage,
 Et s'il vont bohordant, il ne sont pas ombrage
 De ferir en quintaine ne de porter lor targe;
 3035 Et se il esquermiscent por lor esbanoiage,
 Por bien courir d'escu n'aront il ja damage,
 Ne por autrui grever ne feront il outrage;
 De doner ço qu'il tiennent, de ço sont il molt large,
 Par tot le pais va lor cris et lor barnage.
 3040 La viennent damoiseil qui sont de grant parage,
 Il les retienent tos par lor demiselage,
 Quan c'onques en i vient et par terre et par nage;
 Et si sont avoec eus tot le tans en estage,
 Et passent le guaïn et le tans ivernage,
 3045 Desci qu'il sont venu a cel tans quaresmage

- K'erbe point par ces pres et florisent boscage
 Por la douçor qui vient del printans al rivage.
 Rois Lotaires qui velt faire grant vaselage
 Cascun a comandé selonc le sien eage
 3050 Qu'il soit esvertués et prenge bon corage;
 Il lor donra tos armes le semaine pasquage
 Et fera chevaliers por essaucier barnage,
 Ses tenra a sa cort tot .i. an de maisnage
 Et donra fer et clau et avaine et fourage,
 3055 Dras et haubers et elmes, qu'il ne soient ombrage
 Quant tans ert qu'il devront mener lor vaselage.
SEMEDI devant pasqués a li rois comandé
 Que li .v. vallet aient lor conpaignons mandé;
 Si comme por prendre armes il lor a apresté.
 3060 Cascuns en est molt liés, grant joie en ont mené;
 La roïne fait metre .xxx. cuves el pre
 Et si serjant i sont qui l'aigue ont aporté.
 Desor cascade cuve avoit tendu .i. tre
 Por çou que li bains fust a cascun plus privé.
 3065 Et qui onques s'i baigne la roïne a doné
 Cascun cemise et braies qui sont a or broudé,
 Et fremail a son col de fin or noielé;
 Li braiel sont de soie enlacié et jeté,
 Cascun corioie blanche, pendant sorargenté
 3070 Et aumosniere ausi de paille et de cendé;
 Et en cascade avoit .vi. besans d'or letré
 Dont il feront aumosne, et Dex le prenge en gre;
 Et avoec tot içou n'i sont pas oublié
 Les coifes et les gans; a tant si a cessé.
 3075 **L**A dame a fait ses dons, li vallet sont joiant,
 De Deu et de ses sains le vont tot merciant.
 A tant es vos le roi, o lui maint bel serjant
 Ki aportent ces dras tant a lor cols pendant;
 Miux valioient li drap de S. Quentin le grant.
 3080 Il i a maint samit, maint paille escarimant
 Et maint drap de halape, tissu a or luisant,
 Baudequins, siglatons, et maint drap aufriquant,
 Brunetes, escarlates, et rice vert de Gant;
 Et les penes sont vaires et li sable sont grant,
 3085 Les ataces de soie valurent maint bezant.

- Tant a doné li rois que tot sont revestant, 18^b
 Bien i sont revestu damoiseil dusqu'a cent.
 Or viennent li lormier esperons aportant;
 Li rois en prent .v. paire, cels orent si enfant.
 3090 Li enfant ont les autres, cascuns en done avant.
 Cascuns ot .xx. vallés a son non atendant
 Que li rois revest tos, et il sont molt vaillant.
 Dont amainent cevals, li lorain vont sonant;
 Il n'i a chevalier n'ait palefroï amblant.
 3095 Après done a cascun ceval norois corant
 Et .ij. roncis cascun, et .i. soumier portant
 Qui portera le fer qu'il donra maintenant.
 Il a doné .v. brans de le forge galant;
 Li doi furent jadis le roi Octeviant,
 3100 La les orent pieç'a aportés Troïant,
 Quant Miles espousa Florence le vaillant;
 Se li dona Florence qui bien le vit aidant
 Et encontre Garfile fierement combatant;
 Et Miles dona l'autre a .i. sien connisçant.
 3105 Puis furent il emblé par Gautier le truant,
 Et cil en est fuïs de la fort païsant,
 S'en est venus au pere le roi Lotaire errant;
 A celui le dona, et il en fist presant.
 Li rois lès esgarda, bien les a a talant,
 3110 S'a Gautier done fief et fait rice et manant.
 Les autres trois avoit en son tresor gisant;
 Il ot conquis .i. roi en Aufrique le grant
 Quant ala outre mer le sepucre querant,
 Que treü demandoit as pelerins errant.
 3115 Il li coupa la teste, onques nen ot garant,
 Et l'espee aporta et .i. elme luisant.
 Illuec après conquist Caucase l'amirant
 Dont l'espee aporta et l'auberc jaserant.
 Et l'autre espee fu trovee el flun Jordant,
 3120 Ainc ne pot estre blanche, tant l'alast forbisant.
 Ces .v. espees a li rois cascun enfant
 Çainte au senestre les u bien seent li brant.
 Puis lor done colees dont tot sont formoiant,
 C'onques mais de perece n'ait en els tant ne quant.
 3125 Ausi font il as autres qu'a els sont atendant,
 Dont cascuns en a .xx. qui tot sont bien aidant.

- Dont les maine li rois en son ostel puiant;
 La sont tot el prael desos l'arbre ombroiant.
 La atraient le roi .v. tonials .xx. serjant,
 3130 Qui tot estoient plain de bon fel flanboiant;
 Li rois en eslist .v. qui le maille ont plaisant, 18^e
 Cels dona ses .v. fuis el non Jhesu le grant,
 Et cauces ploieïces, coïfes qui ont pendant:
 Turcoises les apelent cele gent venisant.
 3135 Puis lor dona .v. elmes, qui tant sont flanboiant
 Tos li pres en flanboie contre solel luisant;
 Li candelabre en sont d'or fin arrabiant,
 En cascun des nasials ot une gemme grant.
 Or ont li .v. lor armes, or donront il avant
 3140 Tant que cascuns ara son fer par avenant;
 .C. haubers ont donés .c. vallés .v. enfant,
 Et toute l'armeüre de fer appartenant
 A chevalier qui doit d'armes avoir garant.
 On lor aporte escus de peinture aparant
 3145 Et tains et vermelliés, et sont bien conaissant.
 Li vint ont .xx. escus qui tot sont a argent,
 Mais o'un lioncel noir avoit paint en .i. cant;
 Çou sont les conaissances le vallet al noir brant.
 Et li autre .xx. ont les aigles d'or luisant,
 3150 Dont les canpaignes sont d'azur estincelant.
 Li autre avoient paint pucele carolant,
 Et la canpaigne estoit de sinople luisant.
 Li autre orent pisons de longes en pendant,
 Ki poi prisent l'escu; et deriere et devant
 3155 A une liste vert entor lui açaignant.
 Li autre orent .i. cisne bien fait et conaissant,
 La canpaigne fu d'or entor le cisne blanc
 Et si ot une liste de vigne verdoiant.
 Issi ont .v. devises li .v. frere aparant,
 3160 Escus et conaissances, et trestot lor sivant.
 La roïne lor done par sa noblece grant
 .V. enseignes batues a or arrabiant,
 Dont les langes batirent a la sele devant.
 Quant li .v. chevalier s'en vont es pres poignant
 3165 On lor aporte lances de sap soës planant.
 Il montent es cevals, esous as cols pendant,
 Bohorder l'uns vers l'autre vont ces lances brisant:

Les esclices des lances vont contremont volant,
 Petit i a d'escus u il n'ait maint trou grant.
 3170 Tant a duré la feste que il se vont lasant,
 Tot s'en revont ensamble li chevalier vaillant.

QUANT furent descendu, al mostier vont orer,
 Devant l'image Deu vont lor coupes clamer;
 Uns capelains vint la por els vespres canter,
 3175 Volentiers les oïrent car il cantent molt cler.
 Après vespres alerent .i. petitet souper,
 Mais lués sont revenu al mostier S. Wimer;
 La varent toute nuit et vellier et ester,
 En estant ierent la descî qu'a l'ajorner;
 3180 Et quant la nuis se prist .i. poi a esconser
 Cascuns fait devant lui .i. grant cierge alumer.
 Le vie S. Morise lor conta uns jogler,
 Qui uns emperere ot commandé a guier
 Une ost de chevaliers ses anemis grever.
 3185 Le nonbre vos sai bien et dire et deviser:
 C'ert une legions en coi on doit nonbrer
 .VI. milliers et .vi.c.lxvi., tous ber;
 Tant en ot li preudom desos lui a garder.
 Icîl qui mal velt faire plus ne velt demorer,
 3190 Traist a l'empereor, sel prist a encuser
 Qu'il ierent crestien, tant i savoit blasmer.
 L'emperere les a trestos fais decoler,
 Et les cors fait trestos ens el Rosne ruer;
 Tant i jetent de cors qu'il l'estuet soronder,
 3195 Par pres et par canpaignes et par viles floter.
 Cil furent tot martir por Damedeu amer,
 Et Dex lor puet molt bien el ciel gueredoner.
 Geste cançons dura descî qu'a l'ajorner,
 Et il furent molt prest d'oïr et escouter;
 3200 Au jor s'en sont alé .i. petit reposer.

A tierce se leva li rois par son dangier,
 Issus est de sa cambre, vint el palais plenier;
 La estoient venu si .v. fil tot premier,
 Bien ierent en lor siute pres de .c. chevalier.
 3205 Lués qu'il virent le roi, ses veïssiés drecier!
 Li rois de plaine voie s adreça al mostier;
 La vinrent avoec lui cil baceler legier.
 La fist on revestir le bon abé Renier;

- El non del S. Espir, qui les puist consellier,
 3210 A comincié la messe et le devin mestier.
 Çou c'on offri l'abé valut maint bon denier,
 Onques n'i ot celui n'ofrist bezant d'or mier,
 Que la mere le roi lor ot doné tres ier.
 Après messe s'en vont sus el palais plenier;
 3215 On a cornee l'eve, assis sont au mangier.
 Les mes ne les savors ne vos puis acointier,
 Car il en i ot tant qui molt font a prisier.
 Li rois qui tant en fist, si bien aparellier —
 Forés li rendent bestes por sa cort essaucier,
 3220 Li airs li rent oisials c'on manga par dangier,
 Si li rendent poisons li aigue et li vivier.
 Or poés bien savoir, maint mes i ot plenier
 Et boires autresi, bien le puis fiancier;
 Bon vin, bones puisons lor orent grant mestier,
 3225 Il en i ot assés, ce vos voel acointier.
 Li jogleor i font grant noisé et grant tenpier;
 L'uns cante de Martin et l'autres d'Olivier,
 Li autres de Guion et li autre d'Ogier.
 De la color n'estuet des estrumens plaidier,
 3230 Tot sans nule cançon si puet on delitier.
 On ne demoure plus, errant après mangier
 Monterent es cevals por la feste avancier;
 Les escus ont as cols, es mains lances d'osier.
 La veïst on enseignes a cel vent balloier,
 3235 De totes pars s'amostrent et viennent chevalier.
 Cel al noir lioncel, es le vos tot premier,
 Plains estoit de deduit por gens esbanoier;
 .XX. compaignon le sivent; trambler et formoier
 Font la terre sous eux, si font il grant tenpier.
 3240 Li autres as puceles ne se vaut atargier,
 Cil ne velt demorer plus longement arrier;
 Il et si compaignon ne varent detriier,
 Sor ces escus novials font lances peçoier.
 Cil as poissons revint qui s'i vaura aidier,
 3245 Sel veïssiés venir, lui vintisme, coitier!
 Cil i vient si bruiant que il fait tos ploier
 Les rens de chevaliers u il se velt fichier;
 Il n'espargne nului de son escu percier
 Et de faire voler, a terre trebucier.
 3250 Or vient cil as aigliaus, nes pot on mesprisier,

- Bien se pueent mostrer comme bon chevalier ;
 Que que cil as poisons facent por eux proisier,
 Cist maintiennent molt mius le camp por festoier.
 Il n'ont cure de querre ombre por ombroier,
 3255 Ains se fierent es autres, les rens font clarioier.
 Il li convint fuïr u caïr del destrier
 Qui il vont consivant, u l'arçon peçoier.
 Cil au cisne revient bruiant com aversier,
 Ausi com li ostoïrs es anés de rivier
 3260 Quant il velt prendre proie et es oïsiâls plongier ;
 Que que li autre facent, cist font tot esmaier
 Cels qui voient venir a lor estor cargier,
 Cist voelent pris avoir de tot le tornoier
 Et il l'eüscent tost, quant la vint rois Lotier
 3265 Ki lor a conmandé de tot en tot laisier :
 Entrues que gius est bels le doit on acoisier.

- L** I rois jura son chief, mar i sera brisie
 Hui mais a bohorder ne lance ne demie ;
 Par un garçon fu la la parole noncie.
 3270 Il cïesent et descendent sor l'erbe qui verdie,
 Et li pluisor cevalcent vers lor herbregerie.
 Jogleor cantent sons et maintent lie vie ;
 Rices ostels tenoient tot li fil Eloxie,
 Car or primes commence venir lor segnorie,
 3275 Li los et la proece et la grans cortoisie.
 La novele est par tout et alee et oïe,
 Que rois Lotaires tient si grant cevalerie,
 Ne redoute voisin qui tant ait felonie,
 Que molt tost nel menace a molt poi d'aatie.
 3280 Li renons est si grans de bien, de boine vie,
 La novele est alee descï qu'en Aumarie,
 Tres les pors de Wisant, descï qu'en Romenie,
 Et par toute Engleterre u a grant segnorie,
 Et par toutes les terres leu on aore et prie
 3285 Le glorious Segnor, le fil sainte Marie,
 Que par eux u est toute proëce resbaudie
 Et larghece autresi qui estoit endormie,
 Il soustienent tos cels qui lor ruevent aïe,
 Qui od els porsïvir vpoelent cevalerie.
 3290 Tot cel esté dura la feste plentoïe
 Et cascun jor croïsoit de chevaliers maisnie,

- Maintes foies avés mainte novele oïe
 De la cort roi Artu et de sa baronie;
 De Gavain son neveu et de sa conpaignie,
 3295 Et des autres barons dont la fable est bastie.
 Ce fu fable d'Artu u ço fu faerie,
 Mais ce fu verités, nel mescreés vos mie,
 De ces .v. chevaliers et de lor conpaignie,
 De Lotaire lor pere qui tant ot segnorie.
 3300 Li livre le nos content qui sont d'anciserie,
 Qu'a Nimaie est l'estoire en une glise antie
 Qui fu fondee el non cele sainte Marie
 Ki tel home porta que celui qui tot crie
 Et tot fist de nient, par sa grant segnorie.
 3305 Rois Lotaires s'esforce, en son cuer pas n'oblie
 D'Elioxe la bele la haute prophesie
 Ki dist que ses linages iroit vers paienie,
 Illueques regneroit par molt grant segnorie
 Et li pooirs de Deu li seroit en aïe.
 3310 Mais il ne set del quel isteroit la lignie
 Ki si s'espanderoit en Oriant partie,
 Car tot .v. sont molt preu et de grant segnorie.

19^c

- UN jor ert rois Lotaires alés a sa capele,
 A orisons se mist por proier la pucele,
 3315 La gloriose Dame qui tant est piue et bele,
 Qu'ele son fil proiast de fin cuer, la pucele,
 Que il li envoiast a savoir la novele
 Au quel de ses enfans quieroit cele meriele,
 Ki iroit outre mer sor le gent qui favele.
 3320 Molt en a Deu proiet et la Virgene pucele.
 Entrues qu'il li prioit et de bon cuer l'apele,
 Li vint une avisons qui molt fu bone et bele,
 C'uns angeles li aporte et li dist la novele
 Que c'esteroit icil, seüst le sans favele,
 3325 Qui li cisnes menroit traïant en sa nacele,
 Et si avra el col d'or fin la caainele.

- OR trespasse d'esté li saisons et li tans
 Et d'iver autresi, est tos passez li ans;
 Al tor de l'an revient et avriels et prinstans
 3330 Et li tans de Pascor, qui les gens fait joians;
 Nes icil qui sont triste font de joie sanblans.
 Li .v. fil roi Lotaire, des autres ne sai quans,

- Sont assamblé ensamble, s'ont fait uns parlemans
 Que cascuns ira querre, sans compaignie de gans,
 3335 Aventure qui soit a cascun convenans.
 Dist cil al noir lion: "G'irai es desrubans
 De la noire montaigne, i verai ne sai quans
 Et tygres et lupars, dont Deus me soit garans.
 A .v. ans revenrai, se jo remaing vivans
 3340 Et prisons ne me tient, a mon pere joians."
 Dist li vallés a l'aigle: "G'irai aventurer
 Es forés u on seut les cerubins colper,
 Et cedres et ciprés en seut on amener;
 La troverai, tostans que ce ne puet fauser,
 3345 Tele aventure u jôu me porai esprover;
 Et Dex par son plaisir, qui tot puet gouverner,
 Me laist par sa pitié en tel liu asener
 Dont jo puise le los et conquest raporter.
 A .vii. ans, se Deu plaist, m'en vaurai retrover,
 3350 Se prisons ne me tient dont jo puise escaper,
 U mors ne me soprent que ne puise eskiver."
 Et dist cil as puceles: "Jo ai oï parler,
 La terre d'Aminoï molt l'ai oï loer;
 La roïne est molt preus, bien set armes porter,
 3355 Courir de son escu et d'espee capler;
 Ausi font ses puceles, bien l'ai oï conter:
 19^d
 Jes voel aler conquerre, por .x. ans demorer,
 Dusque j'aie esté. La u jes puise trover;
 La roïne amerai qui tant fait a amer."
 3360 Çou dist cius as poissons: "Jo voel aler par mer,
 Car m'ensegne le doit, jo nel voel remuer.
 As aïmans trairai, tunt me vaurai grever,
 Ja çou ne remanra por .vii. ans demorer;
 Savoir voel quel fin fait qui ne puet retorner:
 3365 De l'aïmant arai tant com porra porter
 La nes que jo menrai por moi a gouverner;
 Sor la roce u Judas seut venir reposer,
 En celi vaurai jo par mon esfors monter."
 "Certes," dist cil au cisne, "ne sai le liu trover
 3370 U g'irai, mais ne puis après vos demorer.
 Nos en irons tot .v., Dex nos laist enconter
 Tel cose u nos puïsons los et pris conquerter;
 Mais cil que nos laïsons el vivier tant noer,
 Qui nostre germains est, il me fait molt penser;

- 3375 Je l'ainc molt, ne le puis laisier seul demorer;
 Se j'en vois jel menrai, se puis engien trover;
 Et no suer, la pucele, la gente o le vis cler,
 Remanra notre pere, bien le porra garder;
 Et il li porvera a segnor et a per
- 3380 Home qui bien le doive segnerilment garder."
 "Bien ait," dient il tot, "qui t'aprist a parler."
- L**I parlemens est fais et li consaus fenis,
 D'illueques s'est cascuns a la cort revertis;
 Al roi viennent tot .v., ains n'en fu uns eskis.
- 3385 "Rois," ço dist cil au cisne, "or nos soiés aidis;
 Nos en volons aler, li consaus en est pris,
 Et par terre et par mer querre aventure et pris;
 Cevals et fer nos done, escus et vers et bis,
 Selonc çou que cascuns a le fais entrepris;
- 3390 Trois cevals en ta terre nos porvoi et eslis,
 Et .ii. nes dont avrai l'une a mon devis."
 "Voire, sire," respont cil au lioncel bis,
 "Jou voel ceval et fer, que soie amanevis."
 "Et jou," dist cil a l'aigle, "escut a or burnis;
- 3395 Mes fers et mes cevals, ce est tos mes delis."
 Cil as puceles dist qu'il en ira envis
 Sans fer et sans ceval: "J'en woel estre garnis."
 Et dist cil as poisons: "D'espiel qui soit burnis
 Et bien fort en anstes voel jo estre garnis;
- 3400 Ne elmes ne haubers, cil ne m'ert pas degis,
 Ne l'escus as poisons, dont moi membre tosdís, 20^a
 Et une nef o moi, la estera mes lis."
 Dist cil au blanc oisel: "Autretels ert mes dis:
 Jo voel avoir calant, et escu blanc et bis,
- 3405 U li blans oisiaus soit painturés et escrits,
 Un espiel qui blans est painturés et forbis,
 Si voel une caïne qui soit d'or bien eslis;
 De lonc ait une toise, dont ert a mon devis."
- I**L ont fait lor demande lor pere a lor talent,
 3410 Ne li pere n'otroie n'il n'escondist noient,
 Mais de çou que il ot a le cuer molt dolant;
 S'il o lui remansiscent, grant aseürement
 Eüst en eus tostans envers tant mainte gent.
 Dont a levé son cief, si parla hautement
- 3415 "Enfant," dist il, "par Deu qui maint en Orient,
 Jo vos ai molt amés et ain molt voirement;

- Remanés avoec moi, et fiés et tenement
 Donrai cascuns de vos, ensi le vos creent,
 Et vos avrois assez proëce et hardement.”
- 3420 Et il li respondirent sans nul delaïement :
 “Çou que nos demandons nos donés bonement.”
 Çou respont rois Lotaires : “Tot al vostre talent
 Arés fer et cevals trestot seürement,
 Mais durement me poise de vo departement;
- 3425 Mius vos amaise o moi ens en mon tenement.
 Ens la garde al Segnor qui vos fist de noient
 Soïés vos conmandé tot parmenablement.”
 Armes, cevals et nes a cort terminement
 Lor a li rois porquis, si lor met en present,
- 3430 Et la caïne d'or que cil au cisne atent.
 A cel present doner ot molt grant plorement;
 Li rois plore ses fils qu'il ama bonement,
 Li fil plorent lor pere qui remaint seulement,
 Et li chevalier sont del desevrer dolent;
- 3435 Ne quident mais trover qui lor doinst garniment
 Ne ceval ne hauberc ne nul affublement:
 .C. en caient pasmé el maistre mandement.
 Al relever qu'il font i ot dolousement,
 Regrètent lor segnor qu'il aiment durement.
- 3440 Cil as cevals s'en vont, mais c'est devinement:
 L'uns ne verra mais l'autre a plus proçainement,
 S'ierent passé .vii. an trestot pleniement.
 Cil as poisson a fait son apanellement,
 Son escu et son fer met, si nage erramment
- 3445 Et a voile drecie sigle la mer et fent.
 CIL as poissons se nage trestot a son talent,
 Or le conduise Dex qui jo trai a garant.
 Cil au blanc oisel a porveü son calant,
 Sel fist traire el vivier u il ot esté tant.
- 5450 Lués qu'il vint el vivier, es le vos avolant
 Le cisne qu'il aloit a compaignon querant;
 Des eles le conjot et del bec en frotant.
 Il li jeta el col le loien d'or luisant,
 Puis l'ataça au bort de la nef de devant.
- 3455 Li batials par desous avoit le fons trençant;
 Trait li cisnes, la nes va de legier sivant,
 Sifaitement andui vont l'uns l'autre aprenant.

- Il a mis en sa nef l'escut al oisel blanc,
 Et l'espee et l'espiel forbi, roit et trençant;
 3460 D'autre fer n'a il cure, n'en porte tant ne quant.
 Li cisnes va la nef a caine traiant,
 Tant comme li viviers avoit le fil corant;
 S'entrent en l'Aliose, ce trouvons nos lisant.
 C'est une molt grans eve, por .v. jors demorant,
 3465 K'il aloient par rive le ravor eskivant,
 Tant qu'en mer s'enbatirent, al grant flos retraiant.
 Or s'en vont il tot .vi. aventure querant,
 Troi par terre et par bos les cevals cevalçant,
 Li doi en .ii. batials, et li sistes traiant.
 3470 Dex! com laissent lor pere coreciet et dolant,
 Et meïsme lor suer en a .i. duel si grant,
 Quatre fois se pasma trestot en .i. tenant.
 Li pere l'en relieve, sel va reconfortant:
 "Taisiés vos, bele fille, ja jor de mon vivant,
 3475 Certes, ne vos faurai, içou vos acreant."
 A itant retornerent ens el palais errant,
 .IIJ. jors demainent duel, al quart vont confortant.
 Et li chevalier oient qui s'en vont cevalçant,
 Et cil nagent et siglent qui en mer vont nagent.
 3480 De cascun est estoire et matere molt grant;
 Des .iiij. ne dirons ore ne tant ne quant,
 Mais des .ij. vos irons un poi amentevant,
 Del cisne qui la nef vait a son col traiant,
 Et del jentil vallet dedens sa nef gisant.
 3485 Tant ont ja exploitié que par mer vont flotant,
 Bien pres .lx. jors sont en mer demorant;
 Dont se traient el riu, c'est une eve molt grant,
 De coi la mers reçoit le flot et le corant.
 La s'en vont encontre eve le rive costoiant,
 3490 Venu sont vers Nimaie, une cité vaillant;
 Voient les tors reluire qui sont fait a cimant,
 Cele part s'adrecierent par le Jhesu conmant.
 Ce fu a Pentecoste, une feste joiant,
 Que l'emperere estoit a Nimaie le grant,
 3496 Et ierent avoec lui chevalier et serjant.
 Ci fine li naisence des .vi. freres a tant.
 Cil Damedex de gloire qui forma Moïsant,
 Il gart et beneïe et doinst amendemant
 Celui qui ceste estoire a mis si en avant.

PROSE VERSION

— OF THE —

MS. 781 (BIB. NAT., F. FR.).

SEIGNEUR, oïés et escoutés si porrés entendre et savoir comment
li chevaliers li chisne vint en avant, et le grant lignie qui de li iss-
par cui sainte crestientés fu ml't essauchie et eslevee, et l'ai conmeni
chie sans rime pour l'estore avoir plus abregiet; et si me sanle que le
5 rime est ml't plaisans et ml't bele, mais ml't est longue.

IL avint jadis que li roys Orians qui ml't estoit grans sires et de ml't
grant renon estoit un jour entre lui et le roïne Beatris se fenme as
fenestres de son palais. Et regardent contreval le rue et vit li roys
une fenme qui .ii. enfans portoit, et bien sanloient jumel. Lors dist il
10 rois a le roïne: "Dame, ml't me merveil que nous n'avons nul en-
fant, et ves la une povre fenme qui .ii. en a ml't biaux et me sanle
qu'il soient jumel."

QUANT la dame oï sen seigneur si fu ml't courouchie et ml't dolan-
te et dist: "Ha sire," diut le roïne, "je ne querroie mie en nule
15 maniere du monde que une fenme peüst avoir .ij. enfans a un lit se
ele n'estoit livree a .ij. hommes et eüst jut a .ij. hommes. "Ha
dame," dist li roys, "vous dites mal. Car sachiés, Diex a par tout
pooir." A tant le laissent dusques au jour que li sires jut a le roïne et
engendra .vij. enfans par le vertu de Dieu. Li roys Orians avoit mere
20 qui ml't estoit male vielle, et ml't fu dolante quant ele seut que le
roïne fu enchainte. La dame porta ses mois et ses dis tant qu'il
avint que Damedix le vaut que le dame se delivra a un jour de .vij.
enfans. A chel delivrement n'ot fenme nule fors le vielle Matabrune,
qui mere estoit le roy Oriant, qui ml't ot selon pensé et mauvais. Li
25 .vj. en furent fil et si ot une fille et ml't issi d'aus grande lignie. Et
Matabrune prent les enfans et les met en son escorciz et mande Mar-
con, un sien honme, et li dist: "Amis, tenés, portés ches enfans en
tel liu que jamais n'en ote parler et gardés que vous les ochiés."

MARKES prent les enfans et les en porte en le forest ml't parfont et
30 les met sur l'erbe. Li enfanchon li commenchent a rire. Quant
Markes les voit ml't en ot grant pité et dist: "Ja Damedix ne m'aît se
je ja nul mal vous fach." A tant laist iluec les enfans et s'en revient
arriere. Quant le vielle Matabrune le voit ml't en fu lie. A tant s'en
part Markes. Le vielle garde desous uns degres et treuve que une
35 kienne avoit caalé iluec .vii. caiaus. Ele les prent et vient a son fil.

Quant li roys Orians le vit venir il se lieve contre lui et li dist :
 " Dame, bien viegniés. Dame, queles nouveles ? " " Certes, " dist
 le vielle Matabrune, " biaux dous fix, ml't laides et ml't horribles et
 ml't mauvaises. Veschi le present que vo femme vous a aporté, et
 5 s'est delivree de ches .vii. cayaus comme le plus desloiaus qui onques
 fust, n'ainc de nului ne se garda, et par maintes fois l'aje trouvee avecu
 autrui que avecu vous. Mais pour vostre honneur m'en taisoie. Or
 s'est delivree de ches .vii. kiens que vous ichi veés. Faites le ardoir.
 Car onques pieur que li ne fu, et se faire ne la volés, je meismes l'ai-
 10 derai. "

QUANT li roys vit et oi che que se mere li dist, ml't fu dolans et
 dist : " Dame, je ne cuidoie mie que el monde eüst meilleur dame
 de li ne plus loiaus. Ml't sui dolans de sen mesfait. Et par Diu,
 bele douche mere, aidiés le me a cheler, car je l'ai espousee et li
 15 creantai que je li porteroie foi et loiauté. Et comment le porroie je
 veoir et ardoir ne faire ardoir ? " " Biaux fix, " che dist la vielle, " vous
 targiés trop longuement. Je le ferai geter en vo chartre. " Lors s'en
 torne le vielle et vient a .ij. de ses sers et les apele et vient au lit le
 boine roïne Beatris et li dist : " Orde pute desloiaus, or pert bien
 20 vostre puterle qui desistes que femme ne pooit avoir .ij. enfans a un
 lit s'ele n'estoit a .ij. hommes livree. Or puet dire mes fix que vous
 en avés jut a .vij. Certes il ne prenderoit mie tout l'or de Roussie
 par si que vous ne soiés demain arse. " " Dame sainte Marie, " dist le
 roïne, " ne veuilliés mie consentir que je muire a tel douleur, si voire-
 25 ment comme je me sui loiaument maintenue ! " " Chertes, " dist le
 vielle Matabrune, " Pute, riens ne vous vaut. " A tant l'ont prise li
 serf malfaisans et trufiers et maintent le boine roïne en une ml't obscure
 chartre, ne n'i eut ne keute ne dras le boine dame. Lors sont tantost
 li dou serf avulé, n'ainc puis ne virent riens. Mout souffri la dame
 30 de grietés.

OR oies des enfans qui sont en le forest sur le rive si comme Markes
 les y ot laissiés envolepés en une pel, et avoit cascuns une caïnete
 au col. Et est tele lor destinee que s'il les perdoient, il devenroient
 chisne volant. Et tant com il les aront il seront en fourme d'ome.
 35 A tant es vous que uns, hermites vint iluec qui ot esté en le forest .i.
 ans, et voit les enfans, et prie a nostre Seigneur s'il le plaist qu'il
 envoit a ches enfans nourreture par coi il puissent vivre. Ne de-
 moura puis gaires que Dix y envoia uné chievre qui les enfans alaitoit,
 et il l'alaitoient aussi comme fesissent une femme. Li hermites prent
 40 les enfans et les emporte en se maison, et cascun jour le chievre y
 venoit. Et ainsi les nourri grant tans. Tant que il avint que un jour
 estoit li hermites alés el bos et y avoit l'un des enfans menés avecu
 lui. Si avint que Malquarres, qui forestiers estoit, vint par aventure
 a le maison chel hermite et treuve les .vi. enfans qui ml't estoient bē-
 45 et vit les caïnetes qu'il orent as cols, et dist que se se dame veut, il
 lor torra les caïnetes. Lors vint li traitres a se dame et li dist :
 " Dame, j'ai la trouve .vi. trop tres biaux enfans en chele forest, et
 ont .vi. caïnetes as cauls. Dame, et se vous me voliés croire, je leur

iroie tolr." Quant le vielle l'entendi, ele fu ml't dolante, car ele savoit bien que che estoient si neveu que Marques avoit porté en le forest. Lors dist a Malquarre: "Ralés en l'ermitage et leur tolés les caines, et s'il se deffendent vers vous si les ochiés." A tant se met chil
5 Malquarres a le voie. Matabrune mande Marcon qu'il venist parler a lui et il y vint. Lors le maine en une cambre, et le conjure qu'il li die voir qu'il fist de ches .vij. enfans que ele li avoit carguies et que s'il li mentoit ele le feroit desmembrer. Adont li dist li preudons: "Dame, sachiés, je les laissai en le forest ne mie ne les ochis." Lors
10 prent le vielle Marcon et li fait les iex crever.

TANT eut Malquarres alé qu'il vint en l'ermitage. Adont avint issi que li hermites estoit alés en le forest, et ot un des enfans avec lui. Quant Malquarres vit les .vi. enfans et les caines et que nului n'ot avec aus si en fu ml't liés, et prent les enfans a cachier aval le
15 maison et tant qu'il en prist un, et li taut le caine. Et lors devint blans chisnes et s'en vole en vivier sen pere le roy Oriant a Illefort. Quant li traitres le vit, ml't s'en esmerveilla. Puis prent les autres, et tout li autre s'esmurent aussi quant il orent les caines perdues et s'en volent a Illefort el vivier lor pere le roy Oriant. Lors s'en re-
20 vint Malquarres a se dame et aporte les caines. Lors mande Matabrune un orfevre et li prie qu'il li fache une coupe de ches .vi. caines. Il respont: "Dame, volentiers." Adont prist une des caines et le forga, et en fist une ml't riche coupe. Les autres .v. caines mist li orfèvres en sauf, car bien vit que eles estoient boines de grant ma-
25 niere. Quant li hermites et li enfes vinrent de le forest et il ne trouverent a l'ostel nul des enfans, ml't furent dolant et couroucié, et demenerent nil't grant duel, et les regrete li enfes et li hermites.

APRÈS avint que Matabrune vint au roy Oriant sen fil et li dist: "Biaus fix, tu es trop vergondés; fai te femme ardoir, car trop est
30 mortex quant ele se coucha a un chien." Li roys fu ml't dolans et fist tous ses barons assanbler a un jour pour jugement faire de sa femme ardoir; et avoit ja esté en chartre bien .xv. ans c'onques saoule n'i fu. Et ml't reclaime Diu et ses saintes reliques que il le veuille geter de chele poverte, car ml't est malmenee de fain et de mesaises. Quant
35 li baron furent assanlés, et li jugemens fu rendus en tel maniere que le dame fust l'endemain arse se ele n'avoit champion qui le deffendist.

OR avint ainsi que nostres sires Jhesus Cris, qui ne voloit mie que le dame fust perie, envia un sien angele a l'ermiten en le forest, et li dist: "Hermites, Dix te mande que tu envoies demain au matin chel
40 enfant a le chité d'Illefort, pour rescourre se mere d'ardoir, qui est femme le roy Oriant. Et il et li autre .vi. enfant sont fil le roy Oriant et le roïne Beatris. Or li a mis Matabrune sus tel blasma que ele eut .vii. chiens, et que ele jut a .vij. chiens, par coi ele sera damain arse se ele n'a secours de lui. Et ne soies de riens en doutanche, que
45 Dix li aidera." Et li quemande qu'il se fache baptisier et qu'il ait non Helyas. A tant s'en va li angeles. Quant vint l'endemain au matin li hermites esveille l'enfant et li dist: "Biaus fix, levés sus; il vous

convient aler a Illefort pour deffendre vo mere d'ardoir, del blasme que Matabrune li met sus; et vous faites crestienner et baptisier. Et aiés non Helyas. Li hermites li fait une cote de fulles si conme on dist, et li vest; puis prent une perche en se main, et li hermites le
 5 convoie dusques hors de le forest, et li dist: "Biaus dous fix, soiés preus et sages, et sachiés que vous estes fix le roy Oriant, et soiés asseür que Dix vous aidera." A tant l'a li hermites mis a le voie, et li a moustree Illefort, ou il doit aler. A tant s'en part li hermites, et li enfes s'en vient pour se mere esquiver del blasme que Matabrune li
 10 mist sus. Adont avint ainsi que Matabrune avoit geté son sort, et que le roïne devoit estre rescousse par un sien enfant, ne gaires ne demourroit. Lors prent .ii. sers et les envoie encontre lui pour lui ochire. A tant es vous que li enfes vient et les encontre et leur demande li quex est se mere. Li serf le virent fol et non sachant, et bien seurent que che estoit chil pour coi il estoient la venu. Lors li
 15 tire li uns et li autres le saque. Lors dist li enfes: "Li ques est Matabrune? Mes peres me dist que je me presisse a li, et je si ferai." Lors hauche le baston et fiert Malfaisant qu'il li brise l'espaulle, et après referi si trufier qu'il li brise le chief. Lors tournent en fuies; et li enfes s'en part et vient a Aillefort.

QUANT li enfes fu a Aillefort venus, ml't se merveilla de le gent qui la estoit, et dist qu'il ne cuidoit mie que el mont eüst tant de hermites, car onques mais tant de gent ne vit. Lors regarde le roy qui s'espee ot chainte et fu sur un cheval dont li enfes ot grant paour.
 25 Quant li roys le vit ml't se merveilla, car bien li sanloit estre fols. Li enfes vint au roi et li demanda des coses qu'il veoit ques coses che estoient; et li roys li disoit ml't boinement. Quant li enfes li ot demandé du cheval, du frain, de l'espee et d'autres coses pluseurs, lors oï un cri, et li demanda que che estoit. Li roys li dist ml't boinement:
 30 "Amis, jō ai une femme qui a esté plaine de cruauté et de felonnie, et a jut a .vij. chiens; or l'ont mi homme jugie, et le doit on maintenant ardoir." "He! boins roys," che dist li enfes, "vous ne l'avés mie loiaument jugie, car che ne fu onques voirs, ne onques che ne fist; ains li a aucune ame mis sus par felenie, ou vo mere ou
 35 autres, qui point ne l'aime. Et s'il estoit aucuns qui se vausist combattre pour la dame et dont vainquist chelui qui sus li metroit tel crieme, en ne seroit il raisons que la dame en fust quitte et delivre?" "Certes," dist li roys, "oïl, et ml't en seroie liés." "Sire," dist li enfes, "et ves me chi qui pour la dame en ferai le bataille, et en def-
 40 fenderai le dame."

QUANT li roys ot son enfant ensi parler, ml't en fu liés; mais il ne le connoissoit mie. Lors vint li roys a sa mere et li dist: "Dame, che seroit cruautés de cheste dame ardoir; pour Diu, laissiés le a pais, car vous faites pechié qui de tel blasme le retés; puis que vous volés
 45 qu'il soit ainsi il vous convient champion trouver, qui che puist affermer que mis li avés sus. Car le dame a champion qui bien le deffendra." Quant Matabrune l'entent, mult en fu irie et vit que champion li

convint avoir. Lors vint a Malquarre et li dist : " Malquarre, biaux amis, il vous convient cheste bataille faire encontre chel garchon. Et se li garchons estoit mors et le dame fust arse, je pourcacerioe que mes fix seroit mors, dont si seroie roïne et dame d'illefort, et
 5 menriens entre mi et vous nos delis. " Dame," dist il, " vous y venrés et juerrés. Car se je juroie, je me parjurroie. " — " Mauquarre," dist Matabrune, " ne t'en caut ; je te deffen que tu ne soies preudons, et que par tout porte faus tesmoing, ne onques ne te caut de dire verité. " — " Dame," respont Malquarres, " je ferai vo quemandement.
 10 Lors vint Matabrune au roy et li dist : " Ore, roys, fai ten garchon armer. " — " Dame, volentiers. " — " Sire," dist li enfes, " je veul anchois estre baptisiés ; car mes peres, li hermites, me dist quant je me parti de lui que je fusse baptisiés et que je eüsse non Helyas. Dont fisent l'enfant lever et lui baptisier, et ot non Helyas. Pluiseurs barons eut
 15 la a cort qui disent : " Pour Diu, roys, tenés chest enfant a droit, car ml't est biaux et bien sachiés que a vous resanle ml't bien. " Dont fist l'enfant armer et appareillier de ml't riches armes. Et Malquarres fu d'autre part appareilliés ml't richement. Puis aporta on les sains, et jura premiers Malquarres que il avoit veü le roïne gesir as kiens, et
 20 qu'il l'en vit apporter .vii. cayaus. Dont vaut baisier les sains, mais il n'i pot avenir, ains canchela ; et adont disent li baron entr'aus que il estoit parjurés. Après jura li enfes Helyes et dist qu'il avoit du tout menti et que le roïne ne pensa onques si mauvaise cruauté et que boinement et saintement s'estoit adés maintenue avec le roy sen
 25 seigneur. Tout proient communement pour Hely que Dix le confortast et tout communement que Dix vausist confondre Malquarre le traïtour.

A TANT es vous que li enfes vint a se mere et li dist : " Dame, confortés vous en Dieu et en se mere ; car bien sachiés que a l'aïe de
 30 Dieu je vous deliverrai de chest crieme que le vielle Matabrune vous met sus. La dame l'en merchie ml't. Lors monta Helyas sur le cheval et demanda de toutes ches choses qui as armes et au ceval appartenoiënt ; et li maïstres li dist del tout ml't boinement. Lors monte et en vient a le bataille. Et Mauquarres revint d'autre part et
 35 dura tant li caples d'aus .ij. que en le fin Mauquarres fu vaincus. Quant Matabrune le vielle desloiaus vit que Malquarres fu vaincus, ele monte et s'en va a un castel que ele avoit qui a non Malbruïans. Car bien savoit que ses fix li roys le haoit ml't. Quant le bataille fu finee, li enfes dist au roy : " Sire, j'ai le bataille vaincue a l'aïe de
 40 Dieu. Or doit estre la dame delivre. Je vous avoie un poi oublié a dire. " Quant Mauquarres vit qu'il fu du tout vaincus, il cria a l'enfant : " Enfes, ne m'ochi mie, car saces que Matabrune a tout fait chel mortel enconbrier, et me fist esrachier les caïnes des cauls as enfans qui ti frere estoient. " Et li enfes respont : " Tu as fait mauvais serviche,
 45 si en aras ton loier. " Lors trait s'espee et li caupe le teste.

QUANT le bataille fu afinee, li roys vient a le roïne et li crie : " Dame, pour Dieu merchî, pardonnés me che que j'ai meserré envers vous ; car tout che me faisoit me mere. " — " Sire," dist la dame,

"je vous pardoins tout boinement." Lors passe le dame avant et vaut l'enfant baisier. Li enfes guenchi et dist : " Dame, je n'ai mie tel cose apsis en le forest ou jou ai esté ; car ainc n'i vi dame ne pucele, fors que bestes sauvages." Et quant li baron l'oiënt, s'en risent ml't boinement. "Seigneur," che dist li enfes, "faites me venir Marcon, car il ot pour mi et pour mes freres crevés les iex, que Matabrune li creva."—"Sire," dist Markes, "ves me chi." Lors se torne Elyas et le regarde et le prent par le chief et li alaine es iex ; et par le vertu de nostre Seigneur il raluma tantost et vit, si comme on dist. Et quant li roys et li autre baron virent chou, si en furent tout effréé et tout esmari. Lors demanda li roys a l'enfant qui il estoit et dont il estoit. Li enfes li respont : "Sire, saciés que je sui vos fix. Vous souvenroit il ore que d'un jour que me dame me mere vostre femme dist que femme ne pooit avoir .ij. enfans a un lit s'ele n'estoit livree a .ij. hommes ? En chele nuit vous geustes a lui et engenrastes .vij. enfans si comme Dix le vaut. Je en sui li uns et eümes cañetes d'argent ; encore ai je le miene. Et Matabrune nous embla et nous bailla a Marcon pour occhirre, et il nous laissa en le forest, si nous trouva iluec uns hermites qui nous nourrist ; et vostre mere Matabrune nous fist tolr nos cañes par Mauquarre. Et quant cascuns ot le sieue perdue, si devinrent blanc chisne volant, et sont encore en l'iaue." A tant es vous l'orfevre qui les cañes avoit et li rent ; et quant le roïne voit che, si keurt son enfant baisier.

"SEIGNEUR," dist Helyas, "or venés avec mi et vous verrés ja grans miracles de nostre Seigneur." A tant vinrent a l'iaue, et Hely huque les chisnès et il avoient a lui et l'acolent des eles. Lors doune a cascun le sieue cañe, et lors devinrent en humaine fourme. .I. en y ot qui y fali, qui ml't demena grant dolour d'estrange maniere, et se debat de ses eles et deplume del bec et demaine grant dolour. Et quant li roys et le roïne virent chou, si en demenerent ml't grant duel de lor enfant qu'il orent ainsi perdu. Li enfant furent chel jour levé et baptisié ; et ot li uns a non Jehans et l'autres Zacaries et le fille ot non Rose ; et issi puis d'ax ml't de boine gent par coi sainte crestienté fu ml't essauchie, si comme on vous contera cha en avant. Ml't demena li roys Orians et le roïne Beatris grant joie de ses enfans ; et manda li roys Orians ses haus hommes et couronna Helyas sen fil devant aus tous. Grant pieche dura le feste et ml't fu pleniére ; mais ml't estoit Helyas dolans de Matabrune qui ainsi li estoit escapee ; et tant qu'il manda se gent et monta et en vint a Malbruant ou le vielle estoit, et assist le castel. Quant li homme le seurent, il prennent entr'aus conseil et disent : "Seigneur, nous sommes trop mal engignié pour cheste vielle desloial qui nous a si encantés que nous tenons le vile encontre no seigneur ; et bien est apparissant qu'il est hons que Dix aime, car ja a pris et est keüs li premiers murs. Je lo que nous rendons a lui et li rendons le vile." A tant vont a lui, et li fu le vile rendue.

LI roys Helyas entre en le vile et vint el castel et treuve le vielle et le prent. Le vielle li crie : "Biaus tres dous niés, pou Diu merchi

ne m'ochiés mie, car je devenrai nonne ou rendue en une abeÿe, et pour Diu aiés merchi de mi." Lors le prent li roys et le fait mettre en une chartre.

5 **O**R oiés de le desloial vielle conme dyable li aidierent et conme ele fu plaine de l'ennemi. Ele fist tant que ele escapa de le chartre et vint en le cambre ou li roys gisoit, et treuve une espee et le prent; puis escrie Helye le roi: "Ahi! garchons desloiax, je te deffi je ne mengerai mais tant que tu soies en vie." Quant li roys entent le
10 vielle, si fu tous esmaris; il saut sus et envolepe entour sen brach le courtine qui dessus son lit estoit si qu'il deschira tout aval. Et le vielle crie: "Helyes; vous n'i duerrés, car je vous deffi et riens ne pris quanques vous avés fait; car je vous ochirrai de cheste espee." Adont saut Helyas avant et saisist le vielle, puis apele se gent qui tout estoient endormi, et prennent le vielle. Li roys fist faire un fu grant, et
15 il meismes ses cors geta Matabrune ens. Ainsî fu le vielle Matabrune arse. Li roys avoit mandé se mere et ele vint a lui ml't volentiers, et ml't fu lie de le vielle qui arse fu, qui tant de mal li avoit fait et si grant tort.

20 **Q**UANT tout che fu fait et akievé, li roys et se mere s'en revinrent a Illefort. Chele nuit se jut li roys Helyas en sen lit. A tant es vous que nostres Sires envoia a lui un sien angele, et li dist: "Helyes, dors tu? Dix te mande par mi que tu t'atournes d'auberc, d'elme, d'espee, de targe, et t'en va demain au port de mer et enterras el batel que tes freres li chisnes t'amenra et te menra a Nimaie, iluec a
25 une dame qui a mestier d'aÿe, et nostres sires veut que tu li ajues, et que l'onnoirs de Buillon soit acquittie et delivree par ti du felon Sesne. Et quant tu aras le dame se tere acquittie tu prendras se fille; et istera de vous .ij. une ml't grant lignie qui prendra Jherusalem et le terre dela; puis t'en revenras arriere en ten royaume."

30 **Q**UANT Helyas ot che que Dix li ot mandé, se veilla toute le nuit; quant vint au matin il se leva et appareilla, et prent congié a sen pere et a se mere qui ml't en furent dolant, mais refuser ne le vaurrent pour che que Dix li ot mandé; et l'ont convoié a crois et a reliques dessi au port de mer. Atant es vous que li chisnes vint et amena le batel. Li roys Helyes entra ens et prent congié et li chisnes l'en maine et s'en vont. Quant li roys Helyas vint parfонт en mer tout au premier jour encontra sarrasins galies et l'assalirent ml't durement; mais li chisnes se deffendoit si viguerusement que che n'estoit se merveille non. Et li roys se drece en son estage et se deffent
40 ml't viguerusement. Mais chil Sarrasin si estoient .iiij. galies et ml't y ot li chisnes a souffrir, et li roys Helyas. Li maistres ot non Escos; quant il vit se gent morte ml't en fu dolans. A tant es vous que uns orages ml't grans lieve qui les Sarrasins desvoie ml't loins. Lors vinrent pluseurs galies des angeles de paradis, et fu S. Laurens
45 aveuc qui tous les Sarrasins noierent. Dont ala tant li chisnes nōant atout Helye qu'il vint au port desous Nimaie. Quant li emperres et l'autre gent qui la estoient le virent ml't s'en esmerveille-

rent et vinrent a lui et li demanderent qui il estoit ; il lor respondi que uns chevaliers estoit qui estoit iluec par mer venus ; et lor demanda quele vile ch'estoit la. Il respondirent que ch'est Nimaie. Il dist que aussi l'aloit il querant. A tant ist hors du bastel et li chisnes s'en va.

NOTES.

The caption (p. 1) is not given as a rubric in either of the MSS.; but is taken from the text, vv. 34, 35, which are offered as a sufficient warrant for the title adopted. MS. *A* (2^a v. 23) has "Del boin duc Godefroït v⁹ dirai le naisence." 10 *Cil le prist a Nimaie*. The fact that this statement is repeated near the end of the poem (v. 3301), may lend it some color of probability. 11 *Chevalier le Cisne*. For omission of the preposition *a*, cf. Tobler, 'Verm. Beitr.' p. 174 note, l. 15. 16 *roïames*, cf. *roïon* 18, for which see Foerster's 'Aioli,' note to 8094. 20 *hom*, regularly differentiated by the orthography from the pronoun *on*; cf. 8, 10, 21 and 26, 106, 107. 24 *Damedeu*, dative, cf. 52. 25 *de naïstre l'enfançon*, acc. with inf.; cf. Tobler, 'Vermischte Beiträge,' p. 73. 42 *.xii.* read *xiii.* This emendation naturally suggested itself, but was not ventured; through oversight of *A* (2^b v. 10): "Ja avoit bien li enfes .xiii. ans de jouvent." 51 *deceü*, 'disappointed in their hopes.' 52 *varont boin*, 'will have another good (king)'; for a list of illustrations of *re* in composition, see Suchier's 'Beaumanoir' (*Anciens Textes*) vol. ii, vocab. 53 *fu remês*, 'had abated.' 55 'Causes his rights to be acknowledged by all his subjects; same idea repeated in 60. 70 *ni* read *n'i*. 73 The repetition of the first hemistich of 70 is not sufficient evidence of an error in the text (for a parallel, cf. 30 and 41). *A* has taken pains to alter slightly the identity of the phrases. 76 *chachier* is Fr. *cacher*, not *chasser*, as implied in the vocabulary. 79 *for voie*, no need to change the spelling *fort*. 81 *cervelier*. Godefroy cites (from the MS.) this passage only, in illustration of the word *cervelier*, which he incorrectly defines as "*la ramure du cerf*." To the word in the form *cerveler*, which occurs (in the rime) 'Naissance,' 1486, with the sense of 'tête,' he assigns only two meanings, viz., 'heäume' and 'cervelle.' 83 Parataxis: 'There were two packs of hounds, (and yet) they could not turn him aside.' 83 *detrier*, correct spelling is *detriier*. 93 *espier*, same word as *espiel*, 103; cf. Suchier, *Zeitschrift* i, 430. 95 *Tos*. If the emendation is correct, it illustrates

Tobler's position ('Verm. Beitr.', p. 69), that wherever *tot* means 'wholly' it is an adjective agreeing with subject or object. For the nom. *oubliés* cf. Tobler, *Zeitschrift* xii, 421, § 8. 96, 97 'Nor knew not where he was nor knew not how to return nor house he sees not none.' 104 *Tot*, pronoun, summing up *espiel*, *cor*, *espee*;—*car il en ot mestier*. The true reading is probably *que s'il en a mestier*; *ke*, 106, repeating the (conjectural) *que* of 103. Cf. similar construction, 905. (The variant to 106 is numbered 105). 109 *espee* and *espiel*, objects of *garde pres*. 113 *destroit*=Fr., Eng., 'district,' by oversight referred to meaning *difficulté*, in vocab. 116 *caure* CALÖREM, *chaleur*, CALÖREM. 121 *nient*, here a monosyllable, generally of two syllables elsewhere in the text. 123 *foillus*, definition in vocab. should read '*garni de feuilles*.' The word is not given as an adjective in Godefroy. 125 *Seoir* . . . *faire*, like *aller faire*;—*esbanoit*, noun derived from *esbanoier*, probably by false analogy with such words as *exploit*. 126 *florisoit*, MS. seems to have *fiorisoit*. 130 *se witre*, cf. 2795, apparently a colloquial word, equivalent to *se rouler*. 133 *sorgon*, same word etymologically as Mod. Fr. *surgeon*. 136 *Tigris*. Pigeonneau ('Croisade,' p. 151) quotes from the MS. of the *Roman des Chétifs* the following lines: "Sor le mont de Tygris, dont la roce est ague, Conversoit une beste, grans ert et parcreue." 147 *acoisonouse*, agrees with *cars*, in the meaning of 'subject to the suspicion of,' 'liable to.' 148 *male erite couse*, cf. Godefroy, s. v. *herite*, where this phrase, however, is not given. Vocab., s. v. *erite*, *dele couse chose*. 150 Construction similar to the Eng., 'be it never so painful.' 151 *de bon escient*, cf. 285, 376. 158 *laste*. Godefroy has only *lasté*, under which he cites, from Bordier's 'Philippe de Remi' (Sal. d'Am. 918): *A avoir grant repos pour lasté*, observing neither that the rhythm of the verse is thus destroyed nor that the word rimes, in the next line, with *paste*. (The verse is correctly printed in Suchier's 'Beaumanoir,' vol. ii, p. 225, v. 911). In our text, the measure shows that *N* has used *laste*, while *A* employs *lasté*. 169 *coisi*, same word as Mod. Fr. *choisir*. 183 *esrance*, either literally *égarement* or figuratively *détresse*. 189 *garde*, pres. indic.; probably the true reading, though at first blush one is tempted to prefer that of *A* (*Si regart*). 196 *Mi centisme*, lit. *moi (étant le) centième*, logically the object of *arai*, 'I shall have a company of a hundred.' 198 *si*, read *s'i*. 201 *com il*

aroit . . . trouverai. *A* preserves the sequence of tenses, and is perhaps better. 202 *et* (in *et tant*), introducing principal clause. 204 *tote jor*, well-known locution, supposed to be formed on the analogy of *tote nuit*, cf. G. Paris, 'Extraits,' s. v. *jorn*. 208 *ors*, *leu*, *lion*, all plural. 213 *Si*, beginning principal clause, cf. 217, 239, 393. 214 The verse given after 214 by *A* seems to belong to the original. 223 *l.=cinquante*. 236 *Naje*, negative, corresponding to *oje*, as *nenil* to *oil*; cf. G. Paris, *Rom.* vii, 465. 240 The discourse of Lothair is carried into the next *tirade*. 242 *A* violates sequence of tenses. 248 *ne fait a refuser*, 'does not do to refuse,' i. e., 'your offer ought not to be declined'; cf. 2077, 2093, 3217, 3359. 252 *verra on*, two syllables. 253 *que tant puis desirer*, combines the meanings: 'which I desire so much' and 'which I desire as much as possible,' G. Paris, 'Extraits,' p. 143, n. 74; cf. 1487. 262-264 *A* omits presumably of intention. 266 *acoistre*, dissimilation for *acroistre*. 269 *cisne* SIGNUM. 271 *A lat* 'with,' cf. Eng. 'withal,'—In variants, last line, read 277 for 227, and 278 for 228. 280 *Permet (N)* is perhaps only a metathesis of *promet*. 284 *sergent*, which is formally masc., refers nevertheless to *Samonie*. 291 in the variants, *cloquetis* read *cloquetes*. 296 *ensement*, read *seulement*, from *A*. 319 7 *abosnes* in *N* seems to be a meaningless blunder for *linaloës*. 320 *ferrent*, 'gray horse,' 'horse in general,' cf. 298. 322 *meïsmes*, better *meïsme*. 327 *N*'s reading *fadoïne* (not *Sadoïne*) is apparently a corruption of *ladame*, which *A* has; but the sense seems to require *Samonie*, which was doubtless in the original. 335 *Si . . . que* 'so loud . . . that.' 338 Insert comma after *encontre*. 345 *ma cose*, prob. for *mon cors*, cf. 724. 355 *ne demoera mie*, 'shortly.' 360 *nel fai*, usual construction would be *nel fâire*, cf. 568. 366 Note cæsura between noun and adjective. 370 *nel=ne le*; *le*, neuter pronoun, anticipating logical object in next verse. 374 *movent*, with accented termination; cf. 380, 832, 1015. Has this phenomenon been anywhere formally studied? Incidental mention of it is made by Tobler, 'Verm. Beitr.', p. 112, l. 3; by Apfelstedt, 'Lothr. Psalter,' p. li, note (citing 'St. Graal,' 3560); and by Suchier, in Gröber's 'Grundriss,' vol. i, p. 601, § 37 ('Orléans unterscheidet sich bereits durch die Betonung der Endungen in der 3. Pl.'). 386 *molt maine bele gent*, cf. *molt ot gent*, 400, and *aurois assez proëce*, 3419. 396 *par non de*,

'under the title of,' 'in the form of;' cf. similar use of *el non de* as explained by Tobler, 'V. B.,' p. 121, note 2. 392 *partot*, better *par tot*. 403 *Ki*, 'whoever.' 406 *s'uns . . . cris*, 'if one of them falls, there are loud shouts.' 422, 423 Change period to semicolon and semicolon to comma. 425 *qu'il estoient la quis*, 'what their object was in coming;' *quis*, p. p. *querir*. The corresponding form of the *direct* question would be, '*qu'estes vos ci quis?*' which may be regarded as a confusion between '*qu'avés vos ci quis?*' and '*qu'estes vos ci venus querir?*' 433 *Lotaire*, indirect object. 436 *Si li a mis*, when direct and indirect object would both be expressed by the 3d personal pronoun, the direct object is usually omitted, cf. 'Grundriss,' p. 639, § 75. 445 *vair*, read *vairs*. 477 *poi*, 'peu de chose.' 453 *ensamble*, preposition. 465 *Si*, beginning principal clause. 469 *espials?* 473 In the variant read *A* for *A*. 474 *mucies*. The rime might be restored by considering *ot* as a personal verb agreeing with *ele* understood and *mucie* as a participle not agreeing with its object; cf. v. 503, where *N* has also *mucies*. 482 *s*, before *escrie*, is conjunction = *et*. 486 *los cels*, dative, refers to the priests. 504 *abre*=*arbre*. 505 *la premiere partie*, 'in the beginning.' 507 *Se*=*si*, 'et.' 512 *ce que senefie*, for order of words, cf. Tobler, 'V. B.,' p. 55. 524 *Cels*, indirect object. 527 *effréé*, which is the reading of both MSS, was allowed to stand, as referring to *Lotaires*; but *effreee* is probably better; *de le* before a vowel and referring to a masc. noun is hardly possible; I do not see how to emend. 528 *tot son dangier*, 'tout son possible.' 530 *que* is understood after *jeü*. 536 *prestre*, nom. form, instead of acc. *provoire*. 562 *Evain*, acc. of *Eve*, cf. 570, and *Marien*, 617. 577 *los ses enfans*, acc. with inf. *aler*. 596 *Sens car assemblée*, cf. *Et bien fort en anstes*, 3399, which, so far as I have discovered, are the only hemistichs in the poem which are thus one syllable short. 604 *soume*, 'burden,' seems to be here used in the sense of 'sin:' 'that there should ever have been sin in thee, even in word (much less in deed).' 616 *A*'s suppression of the passage 1616-1621 is doubtless due to certain difficulties which it contains: the meaning of v. 616 is not quite clear, while v. 618 apparently refers to the journey to Emmaus (S. Luke xxiv, 13-33), but implies that the two disciples wished to keep on (*mal varent aler*), whereas it was Jesus who "made as though he would go further." 617 *Pieron*, acc. of *Pieres*, cf.

628. 626 *qu'il n'osoient parler, que* has almost the value of a simple copulative, *et*. 633 *fu*, read *est*, on account of following *puet*, and cf. variant; *te*, indirect object of *reprover* (as in *je lui trouve toutes ces qualités*); 'as it is true that all these great miracles that thou hast heard me here recount, can be proved to have been wrought by thee and (as) I believe this firmly, of a good and pure heart, [sò] grant me,' etc. 636 *Elixo*, acc. with infin. *demener*. 639 *sustance*, object of *doinses* understood. 643 *songè*, acc. with infin. *deviner*, 'grant that the dream she has had may have a good meaning.' 651 *del . . . don*, 'his gift of bestowing the benediction.' 654 Rejected by *A*; 'down to the lowly toe that he held on the rushes (with which the floor was strewn):' he first made the sign of the cross from foot to head, then from head to foot. 655 *mohon*, probably the same word as Mod. Fr. *moignon* (of unknown origin), here meaning 'wrist.' Even *A* seems not to know the word. 682 variant, read *g'adoces*. 684, cf. note to 113. 681 *remès*, 'far removed,' cf. Mätzner, 'Altfr. Lieder,' note to i, 7-9. 687 *s'engramie*, read *s'en gramie*; an examination of the numerous examples of *engramir* and *gramier* (*gramoier*) in Godefroy, shows that *gramir* is regularly combined with *en*, while *gramier* is not so compounded; make corresponding correction, v. 800. 691 Conjectural emendation: *n'en perdront il mie*; *demie* for *il mie*, is the kind of blunder that might arise from writing from dictation. 692 *l'*, cf. 'V. B.,' p. 178, last line. 693 *il=Lotaires*. 696 'There were three weeks (that) he was in mortal doubt.' 697 *ses cors*, for the use of *cors* as a paraphrase for 'self,' see Tobler, 'V. B.' p. 27. 697-699 *En balance ert . . . de faire . . . u il atende*, shows an inconsistency in the treatment of co-ordinate clauses somewhat similar to that discussed by Tobler in his chapter on "Ungleiche Behandlung der Glieder dilemmatischer Fragen," 'V. B.' p. 22 ff. 700 *Il le met a raison*, 'he takes her into counsel,' cf. next line. 706 *dega*, 'in these parts.' 707 *destruit*, *N* has *destruist*;—*deceplie*, cf. Demaison, 'Aimeri de Narbonne,' vol. ii, vocab. s. v. *deceplie*: "forme imaginée en vue de la rime, pour decepline, 'châtiment';" the word (with the orthography *deceplie*) is supported by two citations in Godefroy, but stands each time in the assonance. 712 *Prisons et raençons*, in apposition with *gent*, 'prisoners and persons subject to ransom.' *Prison* in this sense is frequent, but, so far as I know, *raençon* is not so. 713

Matrosilie, cf. Introduction, p. ix. 714 *penst*, 3. pres. subj., cf. *doinst*, 434, 3435. 729 *département*, read *département*, 737 *els et qutre gent*, indirect object of *mestier avra*. 744 Read: "*Dame*," *dist Elioxe*, "*cil* etc. 750 *e il*, one syllable. 761 *cleres enluminees*, cf. Tobler, 'V. B.', p. 65, whose only example for *cler*, under "Adjectiva kongruierend in Verbindung mit Participien," is *clers luisans*. 764 *S'*='if,' *s'*=*si*, introducing apodosis, cf. verse 768. 774-778 Text unsatisfactory. In v. 777 *Il* refers to *li corliu*, while the subject (understood) of the verbs in the next two lines is *li fievé*. 782 *jovene*, read *nouvel*, from *A*. 790 Insert comma after *Gambisons*. 792 *qui les letres disoient*, 'those whom the letters designated.' 796 *Dele* comma. 800 Cf. note to 687. 801 The verse given here by *A* seems to belong to the original. 816 *raient* I take to be 3. pres. indic. of *raembre*, of which I know of no other example; it would mean here, loosely employed: 'he burns and (thus) pays back for towns and cities and castles, (viz., pays back for those that were burnt by Gordoce). 824 *quil=qui li*. 831 *fer et clau*, for the same combination cf. v. 3054. 847 *qui de mort ait garent*, 'in safety.' 851 unsatisfactory; as given in the text the verse may mean: 'It is three hundred feet broad (all the way) up to the source.' 854 *Masice*, fem. not of *massif* MASSA-IVUM, but of *massis* (*masif*), MASSA-ICIUM; cf. 435. 855 *por . . . esforçant*, cf. Tobler, 'V. B.', p. 44. 856 *N*'s metathesis of *tonels* to *notels* was thought to be too violent and unusual to be allowed to stand in the text. 862 The harsh *enjambement* of *N* is much softened by *A* (*Ont il; duske a*, etc.). 868 The substitution of *querir* for *querre* would obviate the uneuphonious proximity of two feminine *e*'s in successive syllables, and was perhaps the reading of the original. 871 *loi*, 'religion.' 873 *Voit le cité d'Artage, le fierce*, a clear and simple example of the so-called *σχημα από νομοῦ*, treated of by Tobler, 'V. B.', 115 ff. ("besteht in der gleichzeitigen Zugehörigkeit eines Redestückes zu einem Satze, dessen Schluss und zu einem zweiten Satze, dessen Anfang es bildet"); here the phrase *d'Artage* is made to do double duty, as limiting both *cité* and *fierce* (for the latter construction cf. 885). One of the simplest examples cited by Tobler is *Des treis filles ot non l'ainznee ANDROMACHA fu appelee*. *A*'s reading admits of the same construction. In the text, the comma might better be suppressed after *Artage*. 879 *avoir*,

noun, 'goods, property,' cf. v. 989. 890 *quil*=*qui le*; *la*, object pronoun referring to *tref*: 'everyone pitches his tent who knows where (can find a place) to set it.' 895 *des faisius ahurter*; *de* belongs to *ahurter*, and yet contracts with *les*, article agreeing with *faisius*: 'and they make the sparks fly by striking the flints.' 899 *por*, 'for fear of.' 904 *saucoi*, read *sauçoi*. 916 'For all that, he (Lothair) will not cease hostilities against them (the inhabitants of Artage).' 917 *l'*=*la cité d'Artage*. 920 *Si*, 'till.' 922, 923 *A*'s reading seems to be due to his (or his predecessor's) having connected *par une nef corsaire* with the following *feront* . . . *entrer*, instead of with the preceding *mande*; *ariere*, instead of *au roi*, is supported by v. 958. 928 *viii.*, both MSS. have *v.*, here changed to coincide with v. 840. 934 *il et sa compaignie*, cf. Tobler, 'V. B.,' p. 187. 935 *cascun*, dative; *hace entesie*, absolute. 945 *enguie*, sing. for pl. (*hient et enguient les mairiens*); but if this be the correct explanation, it marks a curious license as compared with the accented *-ent* of the 3d plural (cf. note to v. 374). *N* has *en Guie*, in which I am tempted to see a Fr. form *guie* (of which I have no example) corresponding to Prov. *guia*, in sense of *guise*: *en guise* . . . *que l'aigue ne past mie*. *A* has *aguie*, and a *guise* could stand in the same construction. Perhaps *N*'s manner of writing was distinctly intended to prevent confusion with the verb *enguie*. 1003-1006 'And the water carries them (the beams) down with such velocity that, even had there been no beams or other enginery, they (the walls of Artage) would not resist for any length of time the mere water only, which rushes with great tumult.' 1007 *vint*, read *vient*; *nes crevenit*, read *n'escrevent* and *dele* comma. 1008 *il*, better *el*. 1027 Note insertion of the article before *arc*, to save the metre; cf. 2705, 2916. 1031 *granment* qualifies *rice*. 1035 *l'autres*, and 1036 *l'unes*, for *les autres*, *les unes*, seems to be a license of the scribe, if not of the author; the feminine forms are due to *gent*. 1044 *soufert*, *endurees*, an interesting example of one participle agreeing with its object and the other not, for the sake of the metre. 1059 *Si* . . . *que*, correlatives. 1065 *qu*, 'so that.' 1070 *ormiere*, for *or mier*, form devised for the rime. 1085 *quil*=*qui le*; *le*, neuter pronoun, 'that he will go.' 1091 *sel*=*si la*. 1100 *qui*'*n*=*qui en*. 1101 *que*, 'so that.' 1131 *domaine*, 'liege,' cf. 1154. 1157 *pues*, read *pués*. 1162 *de la teste a couper*, 'd'avoir la tête coupée.'

1173 *uns fons*, acc. pl., cf. 1213. 1181 *faïles nos atierer*, 'cause us to set foot on land,' i, e., 'cause the waters to abate.'
 1183 *wîdie*, 'vidée.' 1198 *qui*, dative. 1200 Insert comma after *banie*. 1201 *K*, 'for.' 1240 *mesaler*, read *melaler*, a word of unknown origin. Godefroy has but one example of the verb (s. v. *meraler*), but several of the noun *meraleresse*, 'Sage-femme'; cf. also *alerresse*, in the phrase *mere alerresse*. Du Cange, s. v. *merallus*, has: "Sed et *Meralleresse*, dicta olim obstetrix, nescio unde ducta vocis origine, nisi quod pro mercede merallum acciperet; [a *μαῖα*, obstetrix, deduci posse opinatur Menagius; quid si a Gall. *Mere* et *Alleger*, quod matri in partu laboranti allevamentum ferunt?];" and Godefroy cites de Hesdin, éd. 1485: "en nostre pais on la nomme *meraleresse* pour ce qu'elle va partout de maison en maison." A apparently does not know the word; N has *mel aler*. Can this be simply for *mal aller*? 1253 *as enfans manoir*, 'upon handling the children;' for *as* cf. note on v. 895. 1260 *terre mere*, 'mother earth.' 1272 *esperis*, two syllables; previously as three syllables, cf. 433, 437, 1264, in all which cases the word is ecclesiastical; here not. 1275 Observe the peculiar order of words; cf. 1285 and 3229, and the more remarkable *Puis que la roïne est Elioxe entieree*, 1288. 1293 in variants; read 1294. 1301 *revelee*, N has *relevee*, cf. note to 856. 1330 in variants, read 1303. 1309 *sel=si le; si*, 'till.' 1314 *el* I take here to be the pronoun (ALE for *ALID, G. Paris; *ALIUM, W. Foerster; *ALUM, Van Hamel; *ALIM, Clédât), used adverbially, 'autrement,' rather than the Picard form *el* for *ele*. 1338 *Qui me vauroit*, we seem to have here another case of ἀπό κοινοῦ (cf. 873), the first construction being: *Qui me vauroit atraire de vostre bien; maire* ('poissons de mer'), form devised to suit the rime. 1352 second *que=ce que*. 1357 *dex* read *Dex*; *se Dex me face aïe*. In his discussion of *se* with the subjunctive in clauses of asseveration (Gram. III, p. 357 note**); Diez says: "Die conditionale Partikel ist eigentlich nur im Ital. und ausserdem in der. altpg. prov. und altfr. Form *se* unbestreitbar." So far as I am aware, no explanation has been given of this use of the conditional *se*, 'if' with the subjunctive. It can perhaps be accounted for as arising from a simple confusion between *se* used with the indic. in such locutions as *se Deus plaiist* 'if it please God' (1458), and *si*, with the subjunct., in such as *si Deus m'aiut*, 'so help me God.' 1362 *le laise*, 'he

disregards it (his fatigue)'; *nes*, perhaps a mistake for *ne* or *nen*; yet we have *son fais* and *nes* again side by side, vv. 1365, 1366. 1374 *si*, 'till.' 1375 *peneanchier* has here evidently the sense of *réduit*; Godefroy gives only the meanings *pénitent* and *pénitencier*. 1391 *avoit . . alé*, the use of *avoir* with *aler* is frequent in O. Fr.; cf. 1408. 1399 *qui*, dative. 1410 literally (inverting the order of clauses): 'if there was anything to eat there, it is not there that I put them,' i. e., 'you may be sure there was nothing to eat where I left them.' 1413 Attention is directed to the poetical simplicity, directness and beauty of this and the following *laisse*. 1420 *alast* imperf. subj., in the same construction as *fust*, in the verse above. 1423 *suer*, nom. form for acc., *seror*, cf. 1447. 1432 *que ço est*, cf. note to v. 512; In Eng., the equivalent of *puet* would stand in the first clause: 'what can it be that is stopping up the window?' 1434;35 'he went around (outside) and kindled a pine cone (so that he could see) to remove the obstruction (*cele cose*);' *en-braser*, intrans. verb; *a fait enbraser*, 'has caused to burn' (like *a fait bouillir*). 1435 and 1436 both end in the same word with virtually the same meaning, yet the reading is probably correct; if this be admitted, *N*'s reading in vv. 295, 296 may also be allowed to stand. 1451 *al lever*, i. e. *al lever de fons*, cf. 1505. 1457 *autel*, in rime with *-er*. 1455, 1460 *prestre* for acc. *provoire*. 1463 *faites nos delivrer*, not 'cause to be delivered to us,' but 'do deliver to us,' as Tobler has conclusively shown (for similar passages) in his chapter on "*faire mit dem Infinitiv zur Umschreibung des Verbum finitum*," 'V. B.,' p. 19 ff. 1470 Close the quotation. 1478 *persegna*, read *preseгна* (*p*' in *N*); it is rather remarkable that, of numerous examples of this word cited by Godefroy, not one shows the prefix in the form *per*. 1486 cf. note to 81. 1497 *D'ensi*, 'from (the same condition) as he found them.' 1500 *jehir* read *tehir* ('prospérer'); *enfants* is subject accusative of the two infinitives. 1511 *nient*, cf. note to 121. 1527 *s'a delivré* (where the subject of the verb is feminine); for a study of the reflexive verb in compound tenses, cf. Tobler, 'Vrai Aniel,' note to 166, and *Zeitschrift* xii, p. 421, § 8. Between 1532 and 1533 there is apparently a *lacuna* of at least one verse: 'we shall in no wise be comforted [until our messenger shall have been dispatched] and shall have come to you and spoken to you.' 1534 *Escrisiés*, 2d pl. imperative, after the analogy of

inchoative verbs in *-ir*, cf. *plevissiés*; 1299. 1540 cf. note to 934. 1543 *pres*, probably for *prest*. 1548 *Son capelain*, indirect object, cf. 1682. 1558 Change comma to semicolon. 1559 *peut*, 3. pf. *pooir*, generally *pot*, cf. 576; *hireciét*, riming with *-ier*. 1564-66 'No one in the world can long be happy without having, at the end of his joy, to endure some news such as causes his heart to sink;' *estancier*, 'étancher,' I take to have here the force of *essuyer* ('subir,' 'supporter'); *anons ités*. On the strength of this passage, Godefroy imagines and introduces a word *anonsité*, which he defines as 'adversité.' (In the same quotation *nonchier*, 1562, is printed *nauchier*.) *Anons* is doubtless the same word as *annonce*, cf. *Patris*=*Patrice* 1214 (nom. *Patrices* 1218), and especially *mes*=*mece* 1753 (pres. subj. *metre*). Since *anons* stands here before a vowel, it might be supposed to be a mere case of elision, but the examples *Patris* and *mes* do not admit of this explanation. The phenomenon is apparently of a purely phonetic nature. (Lothair's discourse continues through the next *laisse*). 1571 *Se=si*, 'et.' 1584 *gent mescreüe*, cf. Tobler 'V. B.,' p. 130. 1587 *Prenderons nos avuec*, for an example of *soi prendre* used in this sense, cf. Foerster's 'Aiol,' 10591 (éd. Normand 10589): *Il drecierent les voiles, si se prenent en mer*. 1617 *Por que* with indic., cf. v. 372. 1628 *douce nee*, cf. note to v. 761. 1636 *pieç'a*, for a discussion of this locution. cf. Tobler, *Zeitschrift* xi, p. 433 ff. 1640 *seror joie*, cf. 'V. B.,' p. 130. 1653 *Et s'i . . . et si*, I have preferred to print *si* in the second clause, as being the more probable reading. 1679 *fist . . . travellier*, cf. note to 1464. 1693 *n'ot soing de repairier*, 'took care not to return;' cf. Mod. Fr. *n'avoir garde de*. 1707 *nului*, possessive genitive, cf. 'V. B.,' p. 57 n. 2. 1718 *anuier* nom. (without *s*) to *prent*, of which *roi* is the indirect object. 1721 *Escrisiés*, cf. note to v. 1534. 1722 *creant*. Koschwitz, in 'Karls Reise,' v. 37, emends *creance* to *creant* (on account of the metre), and in his vocab. explains *creant* as the pres. part. of *creire* used as a noun; it is rather the verbal noun from *créanter* CREDENTARE. 1724 *por droit faisant*, cf. note to v. 855. 1725 *al roi conmant*, cf. 'V. B.,' p. 58. 1746 By a typographical error which will be readily understood, the *laisse* is made to begin at verse 1746, instead of verse 1749. 1753 *torselieres* apparently connected with *torsoire*, 789. 1781 'He has fears for his beast, of the devouring of the wolves (lest the wolves devour him).'

1791 *por eschaper*, 'to prevent his escaping.' 1806 *glater*, read *glatir*. 1809 *en son mesgarder*, 'absentmindedly.' 1822 Striking omission of the relative pronoun after *Virgene*. 1827 *tres ier*, cf. 3213 1841 *en soïés assés por gesir*, 'make yourself contented with a chance to lie down,' cf. *Encor ne fu il mie de tant al baron ses* (Aiol 9152), 'He had not yet had enough of it (had it out) with the baron;' *a nuitie* Godefroy has set up a word *anuitie*, under which are printed six examples, all of which should appear under *nuitie* (*nuitie*); one verse, in fact, is made to do duty under both heads. 1851 *si a l'ore saisie*. The MS., in which l and f are often difficult to discriminate, seems to have *si a sore laisie*; I am now inclined to consider *sore* to be a blunder of the scribe for *s'œuvre*, 'son œuvre,' (which he took to be *s'eure*, 'son heure' and changed to his own orthography, cf. 1848), and accordingly read: *si a s'oeuvre laisie*. 1857 *grant*, MS. has *grans*. 1861 *une doit plus que mie* seems to be a proverbial saying, and probably forms a separate sentence, with full stop after *paiele*. 1873 *Tuit*, only occurrence of this form. 1879 Close Rudemart's "aside" with quotation marks and a dash. 1880-83 are out of proper order in the MS. and marked *a, d, b, c* in the margin to indicate the sequence. 1888 *cascun*, without *s*. The construction is not the same as in 1875, but as if it were 'qu'il y a mis entour le cou à chacun.' 1890 *por* seems to be for *par*. 1935 *le mes*, meaning 'them to me,' for the usual *les me*, occurs not infrequently in the North of France. References and an attempted explanation are given by Foerster, 'Aiol,' note to 10223; cf. 'Naissance,' 2813, where *le mes* is misprinted *me les*. 1959 *Tante mecine ai bute*. Godefroy cites this passage, s. v. *carner*, as follows: "*Tant mecine ai buté*." 1969 *destemprer*; Mod. Fr. *détremper* represents a metathesis of this form, as does Mod. Fr. *abreuver* of *abevrer*, in next line. 1988 *Non fist il*; *fist*=verbum vicarium, 'nor did he (see him);' cf. phrase *non ferai*, which is a survival of this locution as regards both *non* and *faire*. 1999 *rimant*, read *runant*, from *runer* 'to hum,' 'utter in a low voice, of Germanic origin. 2000, the figures have fallen one line below. 2007 *taisant*; MS. seems to have *tasant*, which is perhaps for *tastant*, 'tâtant.' 2017 *sans caucer*, in the same verse with *sans cauce*, has the air of being a corruption. 2023 *Qu'il*, read *Que il*, for the metre. 2050 *pannes*; MS. has *paumes*. 2060 *langeïs* I take to be an adject-

tive derived from 3. *lange*, 'languer,' in Godefroy, which he supports with only one citation, but which occurs also *Manekine* 6681 (Suchier's 'Beaumanoir'), where the editor has erroneously changed the reading of the MS. (*langues*) to *langueurs* (cf. Suchier's vocab. s. v. *langes*). The meaning is not especially appropriate to this passage, but the second hemistich is only a *cheville*. *Langeïs* is perhaps the same word as 2. *languis*, 'languissant,' for which Godefroy has one example. 2066 Inadvertence of the scribe. 2067 The punctuation is open to question. The *les* in *quis* has perhaps the function of *lor* (cf. 'V. B.,' p. 74, note), in which case *lor enseignes* would be the direct object of *embler*, and a semicolon would be placed after *porter*; or, possibly, we have here another example of the construction ἀπὸ νοινοῦ, *enseignes* being at once the object of *embler* and the subject of *perdues sont*. 2085 *as flos*, read *al flos*, and cf. *al grant flos*, 3466. 2090 *grant de manieres*, 'de toutes sortes.' 2094 *por*, better *par*. 2101 *porveance*, second subject of *fist*, v. 2097. 2103 *bon pasturer*, object of impersonal *fist* ('V. B.,' p. 179 ff.). 2106 *reviel*, better *revel*. 2117-18 *Dele* semicolon and read *Li*; *ferroie* is 1. cond. *ferir*; *boulir*=*bouillir*. 2124 *maire*, here used as a term of falconry. 2126-27 A remarkable construction, which may be regarded as standing for the following: *u li cisne estoient :ot (=tuit) qui Lo-taires ot commandé que nus*, etc., 'where all the swans were which Lothair had commanded that no one should molest them.' This curious complication seems to be due to the fact that, in addition to the requirements of the metre and to what Tobler calls "die Verschmelzung des Relativsatzes mit einem Objektsatze," the whole passage is itself introduced by a relative adverb (*u=où*). 2134 *tenaire*, cf. *tenier*, 2156; I do not find these words recorded; they are evidently formed upon the stem of *tenir*, and appear to refer to the part of the bow which is held in the hand. 2147 *forçor*, organic comparative. 2150 *plonciés*, riming with *-ier*. 2176 *fist*, better *sist*. 2186 *del rivier*, cf. 2411. 2188 *dou*, only occurrence for *del*. 2189 *gueïs*, Godefroy defines; 'rivière, gué,' and cites only this passage. 2194 *lavés* does not make good sense; can the word be *tanés* 'bruni, souillé'? 2197 *lieuïs*. Godefroy has "lieuvis adj.?" with the following citation: "Tout consenti li mauvais rois Francis Karles Martiaus, ki en fu trop lieuvis." The word is perhaps connected with Goth. *lewjan* 'to betray,'

cf. Eng. *lewd*. 2203 *icis*, perhaps *icil*. 2205 and 2210 *orfevres*, MS. has *orfevrez*. 2213 Comma after *quit*. 2222 *loïé*, attracted to the nom. by following *enfant*. 2236, *pain torte*, cf. 2322. 2253 *cascuns*, as if in the plural, cf. 3418. 2285 *avoec li*, 'with her;' cf. next line, *avoec lui*, 'with him.' 2395, read 2295. 2298 *encombré*, MS. has *em combre*. 2317 *congeé*, part. not agreeing with object. 2319 cf. note to 1988. 2332 *boskellon*, Godefroy has only one example of *boskillon*, with meaning of 'petit bois.' 2341 *le va cariant*; *le*, neuter pronoun, in vague sense: 'goes carting (it),' i. e., goes on driving his cart.' 2345 *cauestre*, read *cavestre*, and cf. v. 1791. 2347 *amaint*, only example of the form in *-t*; *sergant*, fem., cf. note to v. 284. 2352-53 Godefroy prints, s. v. *esduit*: "li soferrens atant, Voit querre sen *esduit*." 2375 *n'espïe*, MS. has *ne prie*. 2392 *raïe*, p. p. fem. *raïier*, 'rayonner.' 2403 *aportês*, perhaps for *aportrês*, but rather a change from fut. indic. to pres. imper. 2409 *piês*, riming with *-iers*. 2426 *carpant* 'charpente (du corps);' correct definition in vocab. 2443 *fuisce regarder*, peculiar use of auxiliary *estre*: 2446 *la miee*. Godefroy has only this citation for *mïee*, which he defines: "jattée de lait dans laquelle on émiette du pain." The word means simply 'the crumbs (collectively).' 2448 *Cille ce dist li ostes*. From vv. 2453, 2462 it appears that this dialogue is carried on between the *hostess* and the girl. I accordingly suspect that there is no question here anywhere of a *host*, and that the *author* wrote *ostês* for *ostesse* (cf. note to v. 1566), which the scribe has changed where he could easily do so, e. g., in 2397 *Bele suer, dist l'ostês* (here there was no difficulty for the scribe, on account of the caesura); in 2434 the scribe had to let *ostes* (properly *ostês*) stand; 2448 I suspect (on account of the peculiar form *Cille*) to be corrupted from *Celi dist li ostês*; while, in 2462, the author may have written: *Li ostês l'apela*. 2459 MS. has *le*. 2465 *quel*, better *quil=qui li*; MS. has *ql* with an indistinct sign of contraction indicating *quel* rather than *quil*. 2472 *A le fois*, 'parfois.' 2479 *vint*, MS. *vit*. 2484 *Jo*, anticipates *me*; the subject of *voelle* is *Dex*. 2485 cf. note to 1693. 2497 *fait doubler*, cf. note to v. 1463. 2491 *errer*, 'agir;' cf. 'Manekine' 4391, *Bien pense qu'il a mal erré*. 2500 *aporter*, perhaps a *porter* (Diez, Gram. III. p. 244), but cf. 2539 and 2619. 2504, cf. 2419. 2509 *qu'il*, better *qu'el*. 2516

nus hom, 'anyone.' 2517 *le petit pas*, 'lentement; '—*aler*; since *commencer* regularly requires *a* before the following infin. (cf. 2519), *aler* is here equivalent to *a aler*, representing a phenomenon of which Tobler ('V. B.,' p. 187, note) is able to cite only three known examples. He there says: Soll dies ἀπο κοινοῦ sein, so ist es ἀπο κοινοῦ eines Lautes." It seems to me to be what is so familiar in Portug.: *á=a a* ('to the'). 2525 *del giu le va haster*, ironical. 2529 *Si*, 'so hard.' 2540 *ostesse*, here used with fem. termination. 2559 *et rovant* (so the MS.), better *en r*. 2566 Comma instead of period. 2567 *euc*, MS. *uec*. 2596 *por estre apercevant*, 'pour que vous soyez averti,' ('V. B.,' p. 76); *apercevant*, participial adj., with active force. 2606 *que plus . . . tant . . . plus*, cf. Tobler, *Zeitschrift*, xii, p. 418 c, where the nearest example is *que plus . . . tant mains*. 2613 *en nen*, read *en n'en*, which is for *et n'en*, as *en ne* is for *et ne* (*enne*), Prose Version, p. 98, l. 37. 2650 *eles*, riming with *-és*. 2654 *main*, MS. *mai*. 2666 *que nul barat n'i a*, 'où il n'y a pas de tromperie.' 2685 *molt cos les colpa*, an interesting example of the original meaning ('frapper') of Fr. *couper*. None of the examples in Littré's "historique" have this meaning, and Godefroy does not give the word. For the modern sense, cf. 2769. 2691 *nesun*, object of impers. *a*. 2721 *en son ciel*, 'at the top of heaven'; *en paradis regné* 'in the kingdom of Paradise,' cf. 'V. B.,' p. 58 note, and p. 60, note. 2731 *Eliox*, i. e. *Elious*, with masc. termination, as in *ostés*, etc. 2741 *laisa le mort gisant*; *mort* is perhaps made to conform to the termination of *gisant*. 2760 *com li fu covenant*. Under 2. *covenant*, adj., 'convenable,' Godefroy has one citation, "Biaus niés, com vous est covenant?" which he defines as a locution: Comment vous portez-vous? Dans quel état sont vos affaires? In both these passages it has the force of a participial adj. from *convenir*, in the rather unusual sense of 'arriver, résulter.' 2765 *la bele*, acc. before *morir*; frequent construction with *estovoir*; *pesant*, MS. has *pensant*, which should rather have been allowed to stand. 2772 *esfreee*, MS. *esfree*. 2786 *quite clamer*, cf. Eng. *quitclaim*. 2790 *nule*, MS. *nul*. 2791 Comma instead of period. 2792 *or del celer*, cf. Diez, Gram. III, p. 211; and Marcou, 'Histor. Infin. im Französ.,' p. 23. 2801 *essorber*, cf. Scheler's Anhang zu Diez, s. v. *orbo*. 2810 *n'i fu gardé*, impers. 2813 cf. note to 1935. 2814 *l'atrean*, Godefroy

has "*autriant*, adv. l'autre jour, naguère," with one citation. It is the counterpart (ALTERO ANNO) of *ouan* (HOC ANNO) and *anlan* (ANTE ANNUM), but of late formation, like *l'autr'ier* (2467), to which Godefroy's definition better applies. 2850 *eskis*, 'disposés a s'esquiver,' Eng. "*shy*," which covers the idea more exactly than any Mod. Fr. word. 2855 *que*, with force of *qui*, cf. 'V. B.,' p. 103 note. 2862 *col pris*? Does this mean *le collier pris*? 2867 *as fontenis*. By the side of "*fontenil*, s. m. petite fontaine," Godefroy sets up "*fontenis*, s. m.," with the same definition, under which he gives four examples, three of which are plurals of the word *fontenil* (*fontenilz*, *fontenis*), and the fourth, *du fontenis*, is presumably a misreading of *du fontenil*. 2875 *quels que soit*, cf. *li quels que soit* 2743. 2881 *A ces oisiaus doner*; *a* performs double function: *a doner a ces oisiaus*, cf. 'V. B.,' p. 181. 2880-81 *jo ai . . de mon pain . . brisiés*, a careless use of the pl. part. due probably to the proximity of *oisiaus*. 2890 *coroie*, 'courroie.' 2901 *celui*, dative. 2923 *a conpaignier*, read *aconpaignier*. 2941 *ermes*, 2. pl. fut. *estre* (ERIMUS) somewhat rare. 2954 *En est ele çou la*, etc., 'Is that she, whom you see sitting there?' *En*, in an interrogative clause, appears to be used here in a manner similar to that (in certain negative clauses) discussed by Tobler 'V. B.,' p. 49, l. 12 ff. (Tobler's example, l. 24, I understand differently: *mener en voellent s'amie*. *Il leur cria: n'en menrès mie*='Ils veulent emmener son amie. *Il leur cria: vous ne l'emmenerez mie*,' i. e. *ne l'en menrès mie*, with omission of pronoun object, which is not a rare phenomenon, cf. *por ariere bouter*=*por l'* (=l'*ele*) *ariere bouter*, 'Naissance,' 2527). 2959 *estroient* should probably read *istroient*. 2964 *l'ort S. Abrahant*. Godefroy, s. v. *hort*, cites 'Chanson d'Antioche,' "Dans l'or Saint Abraan;" from the Scripture parallel of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom, S. Luke, xvi, 23, one would expect to find 'le sein S. Abrahant.' 2970 'Il y en a six que,' etc.; *a sauf faisant*, cf. note to v. 855. 2971 *creant*=Eng. noun "grant." 2973 *vos*, 'les vôtres.' 2983 *serjant*, nom. after *a*, cf. 'V. B.,' p. 221 ff. 2988 *Porvint* (so the MS.), read *parvint*. 2989 *la pucele*, dative. 2999 *caine*, two syllables; elsewhere three. 3030 *aille*, riming with -age. 3034 *targe*, riming with -age. 3044 *tans ivernage*, 3045 *tans quaresmage*, *semaine pasquage* 3051, interesting in connection with *en yver tans*, 'V. B.,' p. 60 ff. 3079 *de*, 'than.' 3090 *done avant*, 'gives away;' cf. 3139.

3099 *Ocleviant*, one of the principal personages of the romance of 'Florent et Octavien.' 3101-3103 *Miles, Florence, Garsile*, (instead of *Garfile*) personages of the romance of 'Florence de Rome,' cf. Pigeonneau, 'Croisade' pp. 169, 170. 3106 *fort paisant*. For numerous examples, cf. Godefroy s. v. *porpaisier*. 3113 *sepucure*, better *Sepucure*. 3115 *nen*, read *n'en*. 3120 *tant l'alast forbisant*, 'no matter how much he went furbishing it.' 3165 *soëf planant*, 'smooth to the touch,' cf. 'V. B.,' p. 32 ff. 3182-3197 The legend of the martyrdom of Maurice and his legion exists in various forms, the oldest of which is that of Eucherius (middle of the fifth century), according to whom M. was in command of the Theban legion (so called from being raised in the Thebais). Christians to a man, they refused, when attached to the army of Maximian, to persecute their coreligionists, and were utterly destroyed by command of the emperor, at Octodurum, near Geneva on the Rhône. The date assigned is 286, A. D. 3192 *a trestos fais decoler*, cf. 'V. B.,' p. 171. 3215 *l'eve*, the water to wash themselves. 3227 *Martin*, probably S. Martin; *Olivier*, the companion of Roland. 3228 *Guion*, probably Gui de Bourgogne; *Ogier*, Oger le Danois. 3230 *si*, read *s'i*. 'No need of discussing the quality of the instruments; even without any vocal accompaniment they can be enjoyed.' For a succinct account of the musical customs of the *jongleurs*, cf. G. Paris, 'Litt. française du moyen âge,' § 30. 3245 *lui vintisme*, cf. note to 196. 3250 *nes=ne les; les* referring to the twenty followers. 3266, wise saw. 3282 *Wisant*, Cadsand, in Flanders. 3293 *roi Artu*. Pigeonneau, 'Croisade,' p. 138: "Les deux branches... gardent le silence le plus complet sur ceux [les romans] de la *Table-ronde*;" cf. also p. 141, middle. 3305 *tel... que*, the more regular form would be *tel... com*, cf. Tobler, *Zeitschrift* xii, p. 419, middle. 3305 *en son cuer*, MS. has *et son cuer*, 3311 *en Oriant partie*, cf. note to v. 2721. 3318 'To which of his children should fall that chance of going (who should go),' etc.; *meriele, merelle* (ety. unknown), means properly a 'counter,' 'token,' 'jeton,' at games. 3320 *Virgene*, MS. has *w'gene* (*Vrigene*), which represents perhaps the normal orthography of the scribe. 3333 *uns parlemens*, acc. pl., 'have talked the matter over.' 3341 *Dist* begins a new *laisse*. 3344 Transpose comma and *tostans*. 3346-47 *Et Dex... me laist*, optative. 3350 *dont jo puist escaper*, 3351 *que ne puise eskiver*; affirmative and negative

clause, each with virtually the same meaning. 3361 *Car m'ensegne le doit*, 'for my device (the fishes) calls for it.' 3366 *porra*; MS. *porrai*, according to which reading the scribe evidently made a full stop after *porter*. 3399, cf. note to v. 596. 3400 'Neither helmet nor hauberk will be *useless* to me, nor the shield *aux poissons*'; *degis* (DEJECTUS) means properly *malade*. 3402 *une nef o moi*, absolute. 3414 Colon after *hautelement*. 3418 *cascuns*, cf. note to 2253. 3422 *rois Lotaires*, MS. *roit lotairel*. 3426 *Ens*, prep. 3443 *poisson*, read *poissons*. 3444 Perhaps the only verse in the poem in which the caesura marks a distinctly unrhetorical pause. 5450, read 3450. 3456 *nes*, MS. *nef*. 3466 *al grant flos retraiant*, 'at high tide;' the *s* of *flos* is organic (FLUXUM); cf. *flot* (FLUCTUM), 3488. 3493 *joiant*, 'V. B.,' p. 44. 3496, read 3495.

PROSE VERSION.—The MS. is rather plentifully punctuated with periods, which I have retained wherever feasible, even when somewhat in contravention of modern usage.—P. 95, l. 2, *iss-*, read *issi*; l. 3, *conmeni*, read *commen-*; l. 4, *pour l'estore avoir plus abregiet*. This reading was induced by the influence (inadvertently followed) of Pigeonneau's manifestly erroneous quotation of the passage, 'Croisade,' p. 12, l. 23. The MS. has *avoir plus abregier*, which is doubtless for *avoir plus a abregier* and we have here perhaps another example of Tobler's "*ἀπὸ κοινού* eines Lautes," note to 'Naissance' v. 873; cf. also p. 99, l. 15 *eut la a cort*, where MS. has *eut la cort*.—P. 96, l. 6, *n'ainc de nului* is so dim in the MS., that the reading is virtually conjectural; *l'aje* (*laie*) is also uncertain; for the form (=ai je) cf. Foerster's 'Aiol,' note to 584; l. 26. *Pute*, the MS. seems to have *pitie*, which is perhaps the true reading; l. 27, *trufiers*, MS. *t^wriers*; ll. 38, 39, note use of *alaitier* in sense both of *têter*, v. a., and of *donner à têter*; l. 47 *trouve*, read *trouvé*.—P. 97, l. 7, *carguiés*, read *carquiés*, and so in vocab.; l. 16. *Illefort*. Reifenberg's text of the 'Ch. au C.,' ll. 29, 30, has "Roys fu de Lillefort, une riche contrée, Chieus royalmes-chy est viers Sau-sonne la lée;" l. 18, *caines*, read *caïnes*; l. 43 *damain*, read *demain*.—P. 98, l. 13, *les encontre*, MS. has *le*; l. 15, *li tire*, MS. has *le*, which should perhaps be allowed to stand, cf. 'Aiol,' note to 443; l. 29, *estoit*, MS. is blurred, showing only the letters: f it.—P. 99, l. 5, *delis*, close the quotation and insert dash; l. 9, turn inverted commas before *je*, and close quotation

at end of line; l. 13, clòse quotation after *Helyas*; l. 15, *la a*, cf. note to p. 95, l. 4.—P. 100, l. 15, *geustes*, read *geüstes*; l. 17, *miene*, read *mieue*; l. 47, *treuve*, MS. *treue*.—P. 101, l. 24, semicolon instead of comma, after *Nimaie*; ll. 28, 29, *Jherusalem*, MS. *ihr'l'm*; l. 38, *sarrasins galies*, MS. *sarr' galios*; l. 46, comma after *aveuc*.

VOCABULARY.

The persons of the verb, singular and plural, are numbered from 1 to 6. Italic figures refer to page and line of the Prose Version. The few abbreviations call for no explanation.

- A, *avec*, 85, 3006, 3028; 101, 34.
a tot, *cf.* atot.
aaisier, *contenter*, 532.
aatie, *animosité*, 956; *provocation*, 3279.
abai, *aboi*, 82.
abaier, *aboyer*, 90.
abé, *abbé*; n. abes, 9.
abevrer, v. a., *abreuver*, 1970.
abitement, *habitation*, 166.
abiter, *habiter*, 2514.
açaindre, *ceindre*, 836.
acieser, *rêfl.*, *cesser*, 1633.
acointier, *faire connaître*, 1684, 3216, 3225.
acoisier, *apaiser*, 3266.
acoisis, p. p. *acoisir*, *calmé*, *silencieux*, 415.
acoisonous, *suspect*, 147.
acoistre, *accroître*, 266.
acoler, *embrasser*, 492, 1461.
aconter, *payer*, 791.
acouveter, *couvrir*, 2680, 2689.
acraventer, *briser*, 825.
acreant, 1. *pr.* *acreanter*, *assurer*, 3475.
acroire, *prendre à crédit*, 791.
adamagier, *endommager*, 1816.
ademis, *prompt*, 1904.
adestrer, *amener*, *accompagner*, 421.
adiés, *toujours*, 2096.
adoler, *affliger*, 1531.
adont, *alors*, 154.
adrecier, *diriger*, 329.
adurer, *endurcir*, 1511.
aé, *âge*, 2820.
aesmer, *viser*, 2782.
affaire, *subs. m.*, *fortune*, *état*, 2820.
afaitier, *régler*, 1711, 2155; *afaitiés*, *élevés*, 1927.
afeutrement, *rembourrement*, 289.
affermer, *soutenir*, 98, 45.
aficier, *affirmer*, *déclarer*, 995, 1678.
afier, *assurer*, 1309.
aflire, *affliger*, 1813.
agrever, *accabler*, 116.
ahan, ahant, *douleur*, 1421, 1975.
aidif, *secourable*, 3385.
aie, 3. *pr.* *aidier*, 351; 1. *pr. sj.*, 2611.
aige, *aigue*, *eau*, 143, 149, 2909.
aiglel, *aiglon*; *aigliaus*, *acc. pl.*, 3250.
aigrier, *piquer*, 1866.
aimant, *diamant*, 3362, 3365.
ain, 1. *pr.* *amer*, 3416.
1. *ainc*, *jamais*, 62, 102, 3375; *ainc* mais, *idem*, 2663.
2. *ainc*, 1. *pr.* *amer*, 345, 346.
ainques=*ainc*, 71, 2810.
ains, *plutôt*, 102; *avant*, 2368.
aiol, *aïeul*, 37.
air, *colère*, 2832.
aire, *place*, 911, 2125.
aje=*ai je*, 96, 6.
1. *ajue*, 3. *pr.* *ajuer*, 1250.
2. *ajue*, *subs. aide*, 321.
ajuer, *aider*, 1967.
ajut, 3. *pr. sj.* *ajuer*, 2929.
al=*a le*, 27.
alaine, 3. *pr.* *alener*=*halener*, *souffler*, 100, 8.
alaiscent, 6. *impf. sj.* *aler*, 896.
alaisse, 1. *impf. sj.*, 162.
alaitier, v. n., *lêter*, 1979, 2773.
alesne, *poisson*, 787.
alie, *alise*, 692.
aloier, *allier (des métaux)*, 2972.
alve, *ventrière de la selle*, 308.
amaint, 1. *pr.* *amener*, 2347.
amaise, 1. *impf. sj.* *amer*, 3425.
amanevi, *dispos*, 2852; *alerte*, 3393.
amender, v. n., *s'améliorer*, 30.
amentevoir, *mentionner*, 3482.
amer, *aimer*, 64.
amirant, *émir*, 366, 2980.
ancele, *servante*, 628.
anciserie, *ancienneté*, 3300.
ançois, *adv.*, *avant*, 1476.
andoi, *tous les deux*, 366.
anet, *petit canard*, 3259.
angele, *ange*, 2260, 3323.

- apoier, *ennuier*.
 anoit, 3. *pr. sj.* anoier, 114.
 anuoit, 3. *impf.*, 120.
 anuiose, *ennuyeuse*, 135.
 anons, *annonce*, 1566.
 anoncion, *annonciation*, 3.
 anste, *manche*, 3399.
 anti, *ancien*; *fém.* antie, 349, 3301.
 anuitier, *v. n.*, *faire nuit*, 99; *subs.*
 la tombée de la nuit, 94.
 aorer, *prier*, 506.
 apaier, *apaiser*, 526.
 aparmain, *sur-le-champ*, 1354.
 aparole, 3. *pr.* aparler, *adresser*
 la parole à, 2521.
 apent, 3. *pr.* apendre, *être attaché*,
 224.
 apercevant, *clair*, 2596.
 aperciut, *p. p.* apercevoir, 2418.
 apert, *ouvert*, 612.
 aplanoier, *caresser*, 2917.
 apoie, *appuyée*, 2376.
 apoier, *v. n.*, *s'appuyer*, 1400.
 aporc, 1. *pr.* apporter, 2036.
 aprendre, *prendre*, 3457.
 après, *adv.*, 1070, 1711; à côté de,
 1847, 2520.
 apreviser, *apprivoiser*, 2665.
 aprivoier, *idem*, 2910.
 aproier, *harceler*; aproié, *doulou-*
 reux, 1239.
 aproismer, *v. n.*, *s'approcher*, 67.
 aprovender, *approvisionner*, 1793.
 arai, 1. *fut.* avoir, 196.
 araisnier, *parler à*, 1397.
 aramie, *combat à outrance*, 697.
 araser, *emplir jusqu'aux bords*,
 981.
 arbroie, *lieu planté d'arbres*, 2092.
 arçoier, *atteindre à coups de*
 flèche, 2157.
 aregner, *attacher par la rêne*, 326.
 arés, 5. *fut.* avoir, 525.
 argu, *subs.*, *pensée*, 1609.
 arguer, *aiguilloner*, 1577.
 arme, *âme*, 1021.
 aroit, 3. *cond.* avoir, 201.
 arouteement, *sans arrêt*, 802.
 arrabiant, *arabe*, 3137, 3162.
 arse, *p. p. fém.* ardoir, 96, 23.
 asaier, *essayer*, 2663.
 asener, assener, *placer*, 890; *frap-*
 per, 2528; *arriver*, 3347.
 asés, assez; d'asés, *de beaucoup*,
 678.
 aseürement, aseürement, *garan-*
 tie, 60, 3412.
 asiet, 2. *impér.* asseoir, 1653.
 asoplr, asouplir, *v. n.*, *faiblir*,
 708; *consentir*, 2378.
 asoté, *assoté*, 679.
 assener, *v.* asener.
 asseoir, *assiéger*, 100, 40.
 asseür, *sür*, 98, 7; *adv.*, *en sûreté*,
 2189.
 atapiner, *v. n.*, *se déguiser*, 1941,
 1951.
 atargier, *subs.*, *retard*, 2918.
 atent, 3. *pr.* atendre, 21, 180.
 atornement, *préparatif*, 319.
 atorner, *disposer*, 1099.
 atot, *avec*, 271, 772; a tot, 2635;
 atout, 47, 101; *adv.* 2562.
 atraire (=estraire), *tirer*, 1796.
 atrean=autre an, 2814.
 aucune, *quelque*, 1941.
 aufriquant, *d'Afrique*, 3082.
 aumaire, *armoire*, 8.
 aüner, *unir*, 979, 2492.
 auquant (li), *quelques uns*, 1028.
 auques, *quelque peu*, 218, 1419.
 aus, *eux*, 563; 97, 14.
 ausi, *ainsi*, 1975, 2901, 3125; ausi
 fait, 258; ausi *faite*, 2481.
 autresi, *aussi*, 2718, 3287, 3328;
 autresis, 2194.
 autretant, *aussi*, 2984.
 autretel, *semblable*, 3403.
 aut'ier, *naguère*, 2467.
 avaler, *baisser*, 1177, 2439.
 avenant, *charmant*, 33, 40; par
 avenant, comme il convient, 3340.
 aventureur, *aller à l'aventure*, 3341.
 averas, 2. *fut.* avoir, 1939.
 averés, 5. *fut.*, 2399, 2659.
 averois, 5. *fut.*, 2714.
 aversier, *monstre, démon*, 80, 105.
 avesprer, *faire tard*, 1472.
 avison, *vision*, 3322.
 avoec, *avec*, 44; *adv.*, 327, 2203.
 avoie, 3. *pr.* avoir, 2892.
 avoir, *v. a.*, *mettre sur la voie*,
 1265; *v. n.*, *trouver son chemin*,
 1363.
 avoiera, 3. *fut.* avoir, 2325.
 avoit, 3. *pr. sj.* avoir, 2267.
 avon, 4. *pr.* avoir, 7.
 avra, 3. *fut.* avoir, 743.
 avrai, 1. *fut.* avoir, 3391.
 avriel=avril, 3329.
 avrois, 5. *fut.* avoir, 3419.
 avuler, *aveugler*, 96, 29.
 Bacelerie, *collectif de 'bachelier,'*
 3011.
 bacon, *lard*, 861.

NAISSANCE DU CHEVALIER AU CYGNE.

- baer, regarder avec étonnement, 2059.
 bail, *1. pr.*, bailler, donner, 3026.
 baillie, pouvoir, 475, 3021.
 baillier, donner, 487; prendre, 1691.
 baillir, traiter, 686.
 baillius, *acc. pl. de baillif*=bailli, 1759.
 balance, hésitation, embarras, 184, 207.
 balc, poutre; *acc. pl. baus*, 1001.
 balloier, flotter, 794, 3234.
 bandon, ban, pouvoir; *a b., en toute liberté*, 656.
 banir, proclamer; *os banie, armée levée par proclamation*, 709.
 baote, ouverture dans une tour, 993.
 baotiere, 1062, *v. baote*.
 barat, tromperie, 2666.
 barnage, renon de baron, 3039.
 barné, réunion de barons, 1283.
 baudor, joie, 722.
 beneïcon, bénédiction, 1481.
 beneïr=bénir, 3498.
 ber, *n. de baron*, 580, 3187; *adj.*, 627.
 bernier, conducteur de chiens, 77.
 bes, *n. de bec*, 2426.
 beubance, arrogance, 197.
 bisse, biche, 95.
 blançoier, devenir blanc, 2895.
 bliaut, tunique ajustée, 1622.
 bohordeis, combat de lances, 440.
 bohorder, joûter, 44.
 boin=bon, 2336; boine=bonne, 3280.
 boisier, tromper, 1412.
 boistel, boisseau, 863.
 bos, bois, 114.
 boufoi, 885, 921, *v. bufoi*.
 bougerent, *adj.*, de bougran.
 braç, bras, 2344.
 bracie, ce qu'on tient dans ses bras, 938.
 brai, boue, 1190.
 braiel, ceinture, 3068.
 brant, épée, 1796, 3097.
 braser, embraser, 1278.
 brief, lettre, 1721.
 brueroi, lieu rempli de bruyères, 1777.
 bronchier, *v. n.*, s'incliner, 2473;
 broncier, *v. a.*, incliner, 1698.
 brûie, action de brûler, 683, 940.
 bruïr, brûler, 689.
 brunaire, lumière sombre, 123.
 bufoi, arrogance, 873.
 buire, cruche, 2431.
 buirie, le contenu d'une buire, 2493.
 buisine, trompette, 889.
 burnir, brunir, 3394.
 buscier, bosquet, 1380.
 bute, *p. p. fém.* boire, 1959.
 C'=qu'.
 c'=ço, 2057.
 caaine, chaîne, 270.
 caaler, mettre bas, 95, 35.
 caainele, petite chaîne, 3326.
 caasté, chasteté, 2308.
 caïr, choir, 3256.
 caiaus, *acc. pl. de caiel, petit chien*, 95, 35.
 çaiens, ci-dedans, 702.
 caient, *6. pr. caïr*, 3437.
 caïne=caaine, 3407, 3430, 3461.
 çaingle, sous-ventrière, 1752.
 caisne, chène, 122.
 calant, bateau, 838, 3404, 3448.
 calenge, dispute, 2021.
 cangier, perdre, confondre, 2404.
 campagne, champ, 3150.
 cans=champs, 2256.
 cant, coin, 3147.
 capel, chapeau, 2529.
 caple, combat, 99, 35.
 capler, combattre, 971, 3355.
 car, *n. cars, chair*, 146.
 carguier=chargier, 97, 7.
 carier, conduire un char, 2341.
 carin, train, 802.
 carniere=charnière, 842.
 carnins, enchantement, 1695.
 caroler, danser en rond, 3151.
 carpant, serre, 2426.
 cascun, cascade, chaque, 2880, 3063.
 casé, vassal, 1030.
 casement, fief, 817.
 cauls=cols, 96, 48; 99, 43.
 caupe=coupe, 99, 45.
 caure, chaleur, 116, 120, 1439.
 caut, *3. pr. caloir, importer*, 91; 99, 7.
 cavestre, chevêtre, 1791.
 cel, ce, cel, 53.
 cele, celle, 149.
 celi, celle, 279, 2418.
 cels, ceux, 65, 524.
 cembel, combat, 907.
 cembeler, combattre, 896.
 cendé, étoffe de soie unie, 3070.
 cerker, chercher, 79.
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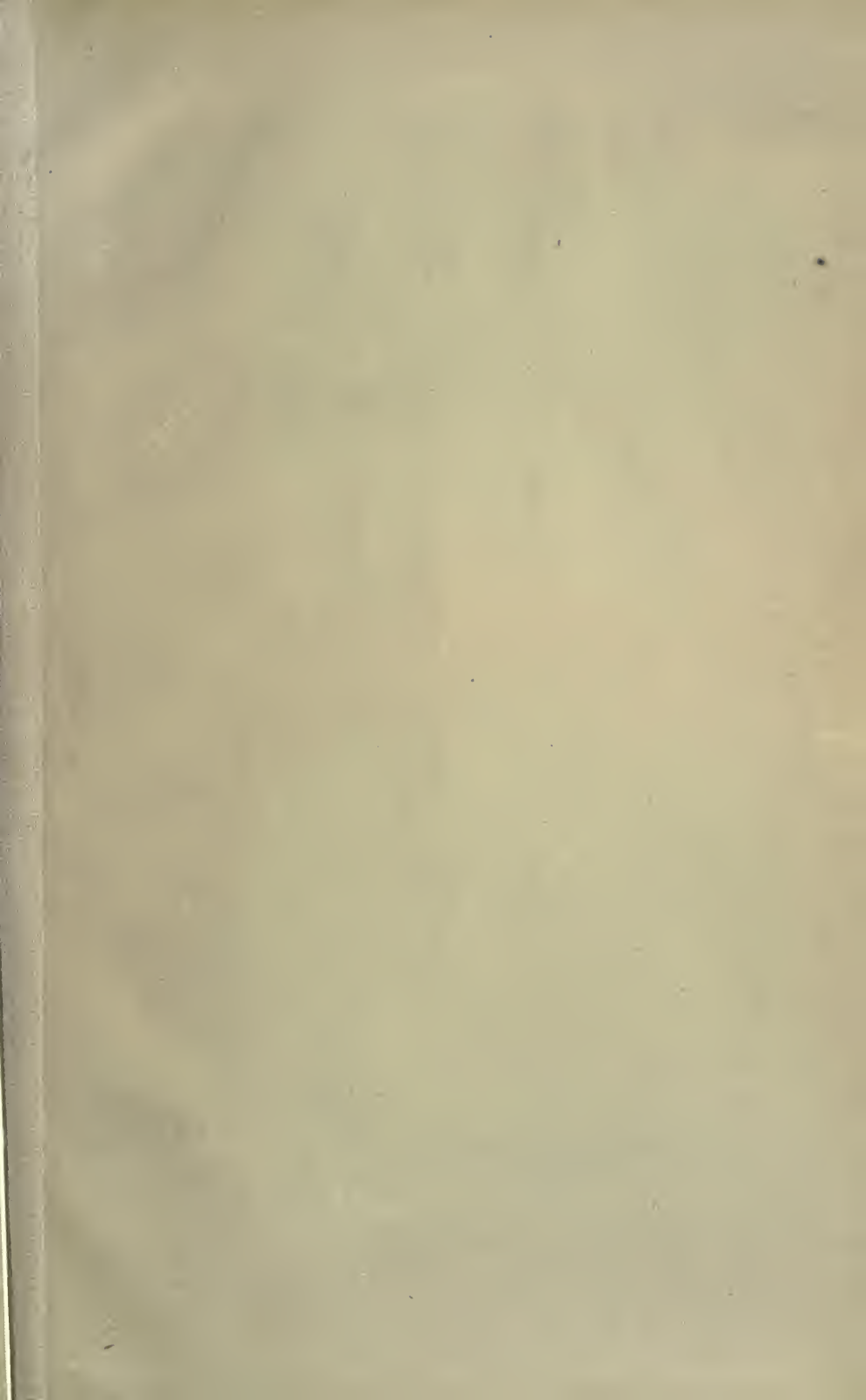
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